THE ALTERNATIVE

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Tyrrell on Highfalutin Charlatans...Page3

Today's extraordinary rattle about America's public policy is giving increasing numbers of thoughtful conservatives and liberals the rolling pangs of an old uneasiness. The pangs roll in from vastly divergent regions, but the tempo of their recurrence has increased disturbingly and when they arrive they arrive with more and more stunning effect. The nation that Franklin Roosevelt termed the Arsenal of Democracy has come to be reviled by some of his descendants as the Den of the Monster. And as few voices have risen to challenge this fantasy effectively, its authors now presume to prescribe our future duty. Some speak of a revolution that will green. Others augustly summon us to new priorities. But this is the century of marching dictators, and many of us feel that no nation on this earth that is at once wealthy and free can long be out of harm's way. America remains today the world's last best hope.

It is to challenge the fustian epitomized by that queer notion of "America the Monster" and to suggest alternative policies to America's advocates of appeasement and isolation that page eight begins our symposium — The Seventies: America's Promise as a World Power.

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THE ALTERNATIVE: TO BARE THE WITNESS AND THE TRUTH

Published remarkably without regard to race, color, creed, or (most redundantly of all) national origin — the question of sex is still in committee.

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The Continuing Crisis

•Hurricane season commenced. And as tropical storms coiled up their furies in the southern waters, the Ninety-Second Congress reconvened. Hurricane Fern menaced Galveston. The Wholesale Price Index went up in August as did unemployment (the latter from 5.8 per cent to 6.1 per cent). Heralding his new economic program as but a prelude to "New Prosperity," Mr. Nixon journeyed to Capitol Hill, where on 9 September he exhorted a joint session of the legislature to pass his economic reforms promptly. Bulgaria, celebrating the twenty-seventh anniversary of its liberation by the Red army, held a parade in Sofia. Bulgarians raised many toasts to their liberators, who witnessed the festivities from various points in the city where they are stationed. Protest rocked Thailand when four disturbed members of Parliament protested government policies by having their heads shaved in public. A more moderate Thai solon had his mustache removed.

•Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants continued their violent dialogue, and the excitement surrounding the forthcoming South Vietnamese elections dampened somewhat when President Thieu announced he would run for the Presidency though no other candidate would. A later statement to the effect that he considered the election an expression of confidence in his administration failed to rekindle spirits, though a Saigon nightclub was bombed and Mr. Nguyen Thai Ngoc, an official of the South Vietnamese Disabled Veterans Association, cut his thumb off as a protest.

•In the United States practically everyone from Chief Justice Burger to residents of San Francisco's Chinatown—expressed chariness over the practice of "busing," though busing continued. Ten buses in Pontiac, Michigan were bombed by the Ku Klux Klan, a white militant protest organization. The Rt. Hon. Shirley Chisholm (D., N.Y.), Congress' only black woman, said, on 16 September, that she will declare her candidacy at a New Year's Day announcement, providing she can attract enough campaign contributions. She is doing it to "shake the system up."

•Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts opened, and Leonard Bernstein performed a mass of his composition. On 9 September some one thousand prisoners revolted at the Attica Correctional Facility, took thirty-eight hostages, fortified cellblock D, issued a list of non-negotiable demands, threatened to execute their hostages and

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Editorial

A Whiff from the Highfalutin Women

For many years now charlatans have known that the quickest and most certain way to snare the American dope is to deck out every preposterous scheme, every enterprising swindle or every flagrant dive into the limelight as a "matter of human rights." The more extravagant or peculiar the claims regarding those "rights," the more credible they become, and the more securely the dope is hooked.

It is this one aphorism, of course, that explains the extraordinary interest Americans are focusing on Women's Liberation. If the promoters of Women's Liberation had actually addressed themselves to women's changing role in a society whose family life, for various reasons, has changed drastically simultaneous with a vast economic and vocational transformation, they would be on to a serious social problem, but alas their audience would respond with snores and groans. So the charlatans of Women's Liberation had to whoop it up for women's rights and sexual fantasy, and it is now only a matter of time before they snare the American dope — the self-proclaimed Concerned Citizen. Once they have bagged him they will have taken complete command of America's primary weapons for combatting reality, to wit, legislation and financial appropriation.

Now to reach the Concerned Citizen one must start at the source of all concern and paranoia in modern America, so a year or so ago the feminologue brought her moonshine to the universities. Fearing that the academics might recall that certain of her programmatic demands conflicted with labor reforms from the progressive era, she furiously shoveled out fragrant chunks of human rights and simply overwhelmed them. The academics pounced on the cheese and now that their disciples have sniffed the stuff a veritable stampede threatens. If you doubt my claims ask your local librarian to pull from under her counter the last few issues of The New York Review of Books; a glance will convince you that this year Women's Liberation will sweep the campus as devastatingly as Venezenlan equine encephalo-myelitis swept the panhandle.

Of course, we can marshal less profound reasons why Women's Liberation will replace Vietnam and negritude as the campuses' burning monomania, and all of them inform us as much about the silliness of Women's Liberation as it informs us about the hopelessness of most of the academic reserves. For one thing Women's Liberation was bound to prove irresistible to the media, and though no one else takes televised history seriously America's educated elite certainly does. No analytical journalist could remain unmoved by the perverse spectacle of mobs of unruly harridans railing away at the cruel injustices of childhood and family. The sight of them burning piles of underwear drew the cameramen like flies to garbage, and when the media discovered that these feminine idealists subscribed to almost every aspect of incivism abroad in the land, they could do no less than devote oceans of print and billows of chitchat to their struggle. The result is that everytime something like Bella Abzug flaps her jaw before a college audience the intellectuals smell the sweat of human chattel, hear whips crack over the backs of Georgia field hands and see a forlorn negress shivering before the mob at a Charleston slave market — all this they experience while Bella speaks of Women's misery in America.

Further, the turgid disquisitions written by Women's Liberationists ooze with the kind of pseudo-Marxism that spins brilliant flashes of light in the otherwise dank cranium of the average university professor. When Mrs. Shulmuth Firestone announced that "the doctrine of historical materialism, much as it was a brilliant advance over previous historical analysis was not the complete answer," she even outclassed Dr. Marx. How long can the common professor of literature be expected to ignore such a wangdoodle of a bandwagon? I expect the prestige universities will soon give themselves over to a building-spree that will raise vast institutes devoted to pondering the complexities of feminology — imagine, if you will, the Simone de Beauvoir Institute for Strategic Study of the Glands.

The ideologues of militant feminology are twenty-four-carat American revolutionaries. Such credentials cannot but arouse the interst of all those mediocre graduate students who tremble at their desks, dutifully applying themselves to the mystifications of the various social sciences. In fact, I imagine that even some of the more intelligent graduate students are warmed by the women's glorious ideals, for Women's Liberation is just the kind of burning issue that is edging its way into trendy university curriculum, making the universities relevant and leaving students and professors incompetent to contrast Charles Reich with, for instance, a sophisticated fungus.

Women's Liberation is philosophically illiterate. Its ideas are idiotic and contradictory. No one has written a coherent analysis of the subject, because it coheres around not one valid qustion of essential significance. Women's Liberation is a blunderbuss aimed by misanthropes and idiots at the productive elements of society. Naturally, the very abundance of silly ideas it clumsily embraces commends it to the modern university — an institution utterly entranced by the second-rate because it is over-populated by the third- and fourth-rate. Only the rarest department of literature ever graduates serious students of Chaucer or of Shakespeare. Political science has become the study of sophisticated daydreams, and hardly a government professor in the land really believes in American democratic process. Even historians are less and less able to justify their disciplines.

Women's Liberation is arrant nonsense, but because it is clothed in the highfalutin rhetoric of human rights it has conquered the campus and will soon sear itself into the consciences of every American dope. Never in recorded history has the dope been able to abstain from nonsense. Whether served with tea and cakes by the Women's Christian Temperance Union or served up piping hot by one of the gaggle of radical reform organizations so furiously elevating and humanizing the Supermarket Republic today, sooner or later the dope falls head over hoof for it.

As a phenomenon Women's Liberation represents the quintessence of affluence in that nation possessed of the world's highest standard of luxury. No other nation is so bored and so demanding of titillation that it would allow dyspepsia to be inflated into a serious topic. Though the dope will be mesmerized, by Women's Liberation's flatulent talk of human rights, Women's Liberation is the other trivialization of idealism and dissent. Kate Millett and all her sweet charlatans are simploy joy-riding on the legitimate claims of the civil rights movement. Even in their slogan, "Sisterhood is Powerful," they are playing on the sincere aspirations of the Negro ((Black is Beautiful"). Ms. Millett is bamboozling Americans in the same way Aimee Semple McPherson hood-winked them during America's last Renaissance. One's bait is human rights; the other's was magic. Sister Millett fishes for yahoos with college degrees while Sister McPherson trolled for carp. Sister McPherson was loved and respected during her stay on this glob of dirt, and it seems that this is to be the destiny of Sister Millett. Yet there is a stunning dissimilitude between the two and it is a dissimilitude that manifests the peculiar pathologies of contemporary America.

Sister McPherson's followers gathered together to give themselves over to the Divinity, to forget their sore feet and to escape their various calamities. Sister Millett's assemble to put on the crown of the Divinity, to exchange boredom for grievances and to dream up a cauldron of crises.

The frauds of yesterday put Americans on a cloud; today's fakes put a cloud over Americans — still many Americans would have it no other way.

R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.

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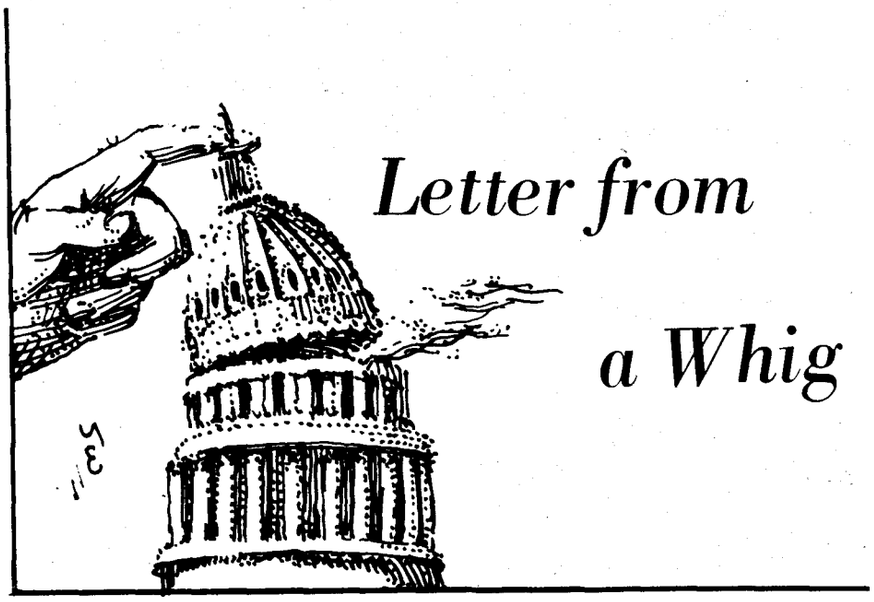

Letter from a Whig

John Lindsay's Journey Into the Night

George F. Will

WASHINGTON — John Lindsay is bright, handsome, young, ambitious, moving fast and going nowhere. That is the conclusion suggested by three facts.

The people who know him best — residents of his City — like him least.

The politicians upon whose favor he depends — leaders of the Democratic Party — have absolutely no use for him.

If he wants to win elective office again, he cannot avoid returning to the scene of the crime.

Why did he switch?

The most implausible explanation is the one he gives. He says that his philosophy of Government is more congruent with the philosophy dominant in the Democratic Party than that dominant in the Republican Party. That is true and explains nothing.

Both parties accommodate a respectable and respected minority of office holders whose philosophic disagreements with their majority are every bit as pronounced as Lindsay's disagreements with Republicans.

Lindsay switched for reasons of prudence.

Lindsay is a big boy. He has been around, and compiled a record. He recognizes that he cannot rise on the basis of that record. He thinks that if he disavows the party of his past he can separate himself from that record. And he actually seems to believe that the tough, ambitious leaders of his new party are lucky to get him.

The Lindsay track record, in office and as a vote seeker, is well known.

Under Lindsay taxes have increased almost as fast as pollution, and the City's booming industries have been pornography and prostitution.

Since 1965 the city payroll has grown by 90,000. The welfare rolls have grown by 500,000. Approximately 600,000 taxpayers have fled to suburbia. In so doing they have lost their right to one substantial pleasure — voting against Lindsay. That is about the only pleasure remaining to New York City residents, and they grab it with gusto.

Running in 1969 as *the* liberal candidate in the Nation's most liberal city, Lindsay managed to pull forty-two percent of the electorate away from liberalism.

Remember that in 1968 the combined Nixon and Wallace votes — the anti-liberal vote — amounted to only fifty-seven percent of the vote *nationwide*. So Lindsay, campaigning as an incumbent in the most liberal city in the Nation, managed to drive the liberal share of the vote *below* the *national* liberal vote attracted by that distinctly non-heroic flower of liberalism, Hubert Humphrey.

Given Lindsay's record, it is easy to understand why Republicans kept a stiff upper lip when he bailed out. It is easy to keep your composure when the local crank gets cranky with you.

What is significant is that Lindsay's arrival occasioned about as much jubilation among Democrats as his departure occasioned lamentation among Republicans.

A McGovern aid was commendably candid: "John Lindsay is an idea whose time has come — and gone."

If there is anything about which the gaggle of Democratic candidates are agreed, it is this: one of *them* should get the nomination. They all understand that it would be a fearful confession of Party weakness for the Democrats to award their most coveted prize to a Republican re-tread.

Those Lindsay advisors who represent themselves as "realists" want their thoroughbred to pass up the 1972 Presidential sweepstakes and, instead, run for Governor of New York in 1974. This advice may be tinged with realism, at least as regards Lindsay's Presidential hopes. Still, it is like advising Floyd Patterson to fight Frazier rather than Ali.

If Lindsay does run for Governor in 1974, the chances are excellent that he will be thrashed by Malcolm Wilson, who is currently Nelson Rockefeller's Lt. Governor. Wilson is a solid, conservative Republican, a proven vote-getter, and a favorite of the Party regulars. Moreover, by 1974 he may be the incumbent Governor.

Rockefeller may be headed for a position in the Cabinet.

This autumn John Mitchell will resign as Attorney General and take charge of the Nixon campaign. It is possible that Secretary of State William Rogers may move over to the Justice Department, where he served as Eisenhower's Attorney General. That would open up the Secretary of State position — one of two Cabinet jobs which Rockefeller might want.

The other job — Secretary of Defense — will be available if Nixon wins in 1972. Secretary Laird already has announced that he intends to resign in 1973. Rockefeller's ability, philosophy and appetites qualify him as a replacement.

What this means is that between Lindsay and Destiny stands a fine politician (Wilson) who can be expected to enjoy the cooperation of another fine politician (Rockefeller) who detests Lindsay.

Still, Lindsay's current maneuvering has a rough logic. Lindsay is acting on a familiar political rule: When your performance in office has ruined your standing with your constituency, seek a larger constituency. A larger constituency implies a higher office; the result is the curious phenomenon of advancement dictated by failure.

Another recent example of this maneuver is Senator Harris' campaign for the Presidency.

Harris has become increasingly intoxicated with liberalism. His Oklahoma constituency is especially abstemious regarding liberalism. So a veteran Oklahoma Congressman, Ed Edmondson, announced that he would challenge Harris in the Democratic primary.

Two things were clear. Edmondson would trounce Harris in the primary. But a divisive primary might open the way to a Republican victory in the general election. So before this calamity could result, Harris — to no one's surprise — began to hear voices from the ether telling him that he should be President.

Some money men ginned up a campaign fund sufficient to get Harris through a few primaries, after which, one can safely predict, the voices from the ether will fall silent. But by then Harris will have a graceful exit from politics and Congressman Edmondson will have clear sailing.

So Harris will clutter up the early primaries in order to gracefully escape a dismal showdown with his constituency. We can expect Lindsay's career to involve a similar scenario.

But chances are that Lindsay peaked a little early — in 1965. Since then he has managed to receive — nay, earn — the enmity of his old city; he has jeopardized his ability to win a statewide election; he has fled his Party; and he has poised himself for a plunge into Presidential politics just at the moment when such a plunge will generate — nay, earn — the lasting enmity

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THE ALTERNATIVE November, 1971

The Asmodeus Letters

John Avey (with Apologies to C.S. Lewis)

C.S. Lewis, the late Cambridge don, wrote lucid, witty prose defending the currently unorthodox position of orthodox Christianity. He is, therefore, not as well known as he should be among American students since wit, lucidity and orthodoxy are sins that are as unforgiveable as they are rare in classrooms, lecture halls and seminars.

Science fiction fans already know Lewis' classic works in that field, most notably Out of the Silent Planet: *scholars know his work in medieval literature; everyone knows his unparalleled and unforgettable* The Screwtape Letters *the letters of a senior devil to an apprentice, quite easily one of the most popular and original religious works of the twentieth century.*

John Avey offers in the spirit of C.S. Lewis what he claims are the spiritual equivalent of the Pentagon Papers. Attention, Attorney General Mitchell (or should it be Billy Graham?)

The Editor

Screwtape
Director of Public Information
Democratic Demon's Republic of Hades

My Dear Screwtape:

No doubt you are surprised to hear from me directly after all these eons. Well, one moves with the times, so to speak. One day the Prince of Darkness; the next, the President of the Democratic Demons Republic of Hades. As for myself, I preferred many of the old ways; but there is much to be said for the new-fangled methods. At any rate, it now befits me as a "democratic" leader to adopt democratic methods. No more of that fiddle-faddle of courtly ritual. (Between the two of us I had begun to find that part of it cloying in the extreme.)

But down to business. I have never congratulated you on the publication of your correspondence with your late, unlamented nephew. An admirable piece of work, that; and one which, as you know, earned for you the envy and respect of us all. Oh, I know there were those who said your letters (how *did* you manage to leak them so unobtrusively?) tended to make us look like laughing-stocks. Nothing, in my proud opinion, could be further from a lie, as we say. I am as aware as the next demon that good public relations gimmicks are hard to come by. So congratulations, both on your ingenuity as a letter-writer and on your excellent reviews in the media.

Which brings me to the point of this letter. More and more these days we Down Here are becoming aware of the growing opportunities for missionary work among humans who work in media." Have you had any programs in mind in order to help these media-types to do a bit of bad here and there? I would be extremely interested in learning of your plans in this direction.

Cordially,
Asmodeus
President
Democratic Demons
Republic of Hades

My Dear Screwtape:

How very typical of you to show the kindness to ask my opinions on just what should be done to make better use of media types. If I were cynical, I might think my request caught you unprepared and that your reply was fulsome. But, as you know, I am not cynical, old friend. It so happens I do have an idea or two concerning this important area of concern. If my ideas can be of any help to you, please don't hesitate to use them.

My first "suggestion" (how delightful these democratic euphemisms can be!) would be to begin a pilot project and to give it your personal attention. Oh, I know the old saws about wise delegation of authority and all the rest of it, but when it comes to temptation, there is nothing like the personal touch of an old pro like yourself. Besides, when one assumes managerial responsibilities, one tends to lose the feel of the thing, as we say. So why not take some time off from your office chores, find a likely prospect and go to work on him. I think it will do you the world of bad, and I'm certain that getting back to field work will be welcome after all these eons behind a desk. You might consider this a personal request, shall we call it, from me.

I look forward to your progress reports.

Cordially,
Asmodeus

Dear Mr. Minister:

As you can well imagine, I was surprised — no, shocked — by the report of your unfortunate failure in basic temptation. Since I do not have all the facts before me, I cannot make a final judgment, but I think it fair to say that you were perhaps a bit unwise in your choice of subject and rather rusty when it came to temptation techniques. As I wrote to you, times have changed, and we must change with them.

Why, for example, you chose to tempt a sixty-five year old police reporter for the *Hoboken Daily News* is quite beyond me. And what method did you use? A bribe! My dear, dear Screwtape, a bribe? Just what century do you think these humans are in? Bribes once were admirable devices to catch journalists, but they now have all of the subtlety (and, I might add, all of the accuracy) of a blunderbuss. No, no Screwtape, this will never do. For the moment, let us forget that the untaken bribe has led this old man to take a second look at his spiritual life, something he hasn't done since a hangover resulting from a minor debauch at the reception given for his sixth daughter's wedding. A temptation not offered is one thing, a temptation that backfires is quite another. But, as I say, let that pass. What we must do is to set you on the crooked and wide path once more.

First, as to a subject. Choose one of those bright, young decent graduates of a good graduate communications or journalism school. Make certain that you choose one who wants, more than anything else, to do a good job of reporting and one who has a great faith in the responsibility of the media to be fair and objective. This is the kind of subject that can test your wits. And, Screwtape, remember: it isn't how you play the game, it's if you win or lose that counts. I know you are probably licking your wounds at the present moment, but I also know that you can do the job. Indeed, old bean, you had better.

Sincerely,
Asmodeus

My Dear Screwtape:

Congratulations!

May I say I told you so? Getting the right kind of subject is half the battle. Your choice is perfect. He

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has a good mind, he is well-read, he knows what he wants to do professionally (choosing a would-be television newsman is proof of your professional shrewdness; keep up the bad work!) and, most important, he is sincerely and deeply convinced that by being a journalist he can help society." He has a social conscience. He is an honest young man and a decent human being.

In short, he is just what we are looking for. Now, between the two of us, you know as well as I do that there are many Down Here (no need to mention names) who are of the opposite persuasion. They feel one must concentrate ones efforts on the greedy, the venal, the ignoble, the base, the liars and scoundrels who, happily enough for us, abound in media. But why should a virtuoso such as yourself go after such run-of-the-flames kind of material? What we want is not only a soul but the thrill of the chase, hey Screwy?

Your choice is, then, excellent. I look forward to hearing of how you approach him.

As ever,
Asmodeus

My Dear Screwtape:

How perfectly marvelous! I was delighted to learn that your subject is already working as television reporter. I'm not quite sure how many years have passed (their time-scheme befuddles me, I must confess), but from what I can gather, he has had experience on local news shows and has now, as they say, hit the big-time.

He has an admirable record — from his point of view and from ours. He is vehemently against injustice, hypocrisy, insensitivity and corruption in high places. This makes him feel very pleased with himself — and as you know better than most, the soul that is very pleased with itself is equally pleasing to us. How often have I told younger tempters at seminars that it is precisely a subject *virtues* that doom him in the end? Spiritual combat is more like ju-jitsu than it is like boxing. One doesn't try for a knockout blow; one uses the opponents own strengths.

Now, down to business. Now that we have him where we want him, what do we do with him?

I would strongly suggest that you begin by constantly reminding him of his moral and political obligations. Here he is making a good salary, doing a job he likes *while others are not as well off*. Now, one musn't go too far with this particular gambit. I've known cases where subjects have taken this sort of thing too seriously and have given up all they had to go follow you-know-who. No, just give him enough so that he can have the best of both worlds. Let him remain in an interesting, well-paid, glamorous profession, but let him never forget that he should be doing more to help his fellow man." Now, the rest is up to him. If he is as smart as you say, he won't need further prompting. He'll simply do what needs doing. Let me give you an example.

Now it might seem that he would rush out and do a really hard-hitting piece on a political figure whose politics are abhorrent to him. Or he might, on the other hand, go out and do what they call a "puff piece" on a political figure whose opinions he happens to agree with. Either way he would be doing "good," i.e., he would be using his professional tools in order to help political views he agrees with.

But our man — I will wager — is too smart for that. He will not be so brazen as to attack one politician or puff another. Indeed, by this time he may have convinced himself that his professionalism" has somehow or other made him immune to the virus of partisanship that plagues lesser men. He will use a more subtle device — say, The Little Fact that Was or Wasn't There" approach. This approach demands a judicious sense of editing and, in an advanced case, may be done unconsciously. Say he is interviewing a politician and the politician, in an off-hand way, makes a remark that, if made public, could prove to be embarrassing. It might be a good natured, but coarse, reference to an ethnic or racial or religious group. Now it takes no great skill to simply *not* report such casual comments when they come from someone you agree with — *but to always report them when they come from someone you disagree with*. It may look like a small thing, but it can make quite a difference in a story.

If a politician he does not like grants him a half-hour interview and if eight seconds of that interview happen, by accident, to include a coarse remark, cannot the subject convince himself that it is his professional duty to include this remark — even, perhaps, to make it the lead? And if the same remark — word-for-word — is made by a friendly politician, cannot the same reporter convince himself that it is his professional duty to ignore this off-hand remark in order to concentrate on the substantive part of the interview? In either case, we use one of his virtues to gain our way.

Another device along these same lines is the Gaps of Wrath. Our subject is deeply moved by injustice, and I understand he has won prizes for his investigatory reporting. That's just fine. But make certain he has gaps in his wrath. Make certain that when he sees injustices coming from the ideological or political side he favors that his wrath is put on the back burner. Make certain that he lashes out at mistakes when they come from the enemy's side (and, by the way, *do* make him think of some political figures as enemies" — it helps us and gives him a pleasant sense of what they call commitment" which has recently replaced good intentions" as primary road-building material), but make equally certain that he either ignores or makes light of mistakes when they come from the side he likes. We have no greater weapon than our subject's own hatred of evil. As long as he hates evil in only one direction, he will be convinced of his moral superiority and we will be in possession of that most desirable of spiritual commodities: the moralist.

As Ever,
Asmodeus

Great American Series

A cabby looks at Lindsay

Mr. Lindsay happens to be a very liberal-minded man. People used to smile — look at them on the streets today. This town has become a hellhole.

Bernard Hirschbein

My Old Friend:

How wonderful it was for me to learn of your latest triumphs! I knew an old demon could learn new tricks — and teach a few also. I was particularly impressed with your Creative Questioning approach which is perfect for this subject. He is the kind of man who not only wants others to think he is a good journalist, but wants very much to believe it himself. Creative Questioning lets him have both fantasies at the same time. It also allows you to use his strengths — his great professional skills in this case — to make him ours.

When he is invited to appear on one of those Sunday afternoon panel shows, he is at his best. There he sits, calm, knowledgeable, and the very model of impartiality. And what a wizard he is with his Creative Questions! If he likes the guest, he serves up questions the way a batting practice pitcher serves up his baseballs — so that one after another can be hit out of the ball park. But if he doesn't like the guest, he shoots his questions the way an archer shoots arrows — to maim or kill. And the best part of it all is that in both cases, he can be satisfied that he has done a good, professional job. No matter who is being interviewed, your subject's questions are always well-researched and to the point. The only difference is that when he questions someone he does not agree with, the research is used to come up with the most embarrassing questions that can be asked; when, on the other hand, he likes the guest, his well-researched questions offer the guest a

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great opportunity to make points, as it were, with the audience.

My congratulations and best of luck.

With very best wishes,
Asmodeus

Dear S:

I'm jotting this off in a hurry because of a rather heavy schedule. I just want you to know I saw your subject in a three-minute news clip last night. Marvelous! The way he had the camera come in for a close-up on the victim of whatever it was he was trying to expose(these human problems all look the same Down Here, fuel for the flames), eliminating all the complicated historical, social, political, psychological and economic facts that led to the problem, was superb. And to top it off, to have convinced him that this type of reporting was morally admirable because it got to the *heart* of the matter (when all it did, after all, was look at one face) was the mark of genius.

Best
Admodeus

My Dear Screwtape:

You have surpassed yourself. In all candor, any demon worthy of the name could, I imagine, have gotten your subject along this far (he is, after all, rather vain, a quality found quite often in this type), but you have brought him to new depths at the same time he is patting himself on the back for being such a worthy, moral fellow, a masterstroke indeed!

As I understand it, a politician complained that your subject was unfair to him. Your subject then replied (on a late-night talk show) that everything he reported was documented, and that if the politician could prove any of it a lie, he would resign. After a few words about the sacred right-to-know, he stared straight into the camera and there wasn't a dry eye in any home in America. A superb performance. Of course, the politician had no case. What your subject reported was true — admittedly it wasn't *all* of the truth on the matter! Superb!

But one must be careful. Your subject is vain but he is not, as we know, stupid. If he gets to analyzing the politician's complaint, he might see there is a great deal of justice in it. He might see that his reports are not helping the public's "right to know" because all the public knows is what he (your subject) is showing them. They do have a "right to know," one gathers, but the selective wrath of your subject is not helping them at all in this case. He is bright enough to grasp the point if he begins to think about it. I strongly suggest you distract him by concentrating on his "commitments" to "truth." These are sacred words for this sort and help to keep his mind off the fact that his professional and moral obligation is to tell not only truth but *all of the truth he can lay his hands on.* Let him be content with the fantasy that by telling the truth (but not the whole truth) he is fulfilling a moral obligation. That way the more he is attacked, the more he will fall back on cliches about a free press and the right to know and will never begin to search his own heart and mind for motives that have nothing to do with freedom of the press. Let his "enemies" be villains to him. Let him convince himself that he is a knight-errant fighting for the true, the good and the beautiful against political monsters of depravity who would crush a free press. Such musings always help a subject to get into the self-righteous frame of mind we all admire so very much, one wherein the subject can't conceive of his own failings, so intent is he on "exposing" the alleged viciousness of those he has chosen as villains.

All the best,
Asmodeus

My Dear Screwy:

Let me first say how delighted I was to have lunch with you last week. You are, if I may say so, looking better than you have in ages (I think the Ice Age was the last time I saw you as fit). I was happy to hear that your subject has become that most delightful (both to us and to him) of media types. The Personality. He is now as often recognized as the famous people he interviews, and his lecture tours are guaranteed success. He has evolved a style all his own, not the least part of which is his ability to use humor well.

For one reason or another, we have always been deficient in this area. I know you are aware of this lack, but many are not. Humor can triumph for us where depravity would never gain an inch. How delightfully he uses his sly, excellent "sense of humor" to deflate the views of those political figures he disagrees with, and equally delightful is his use of humor to gloss over failings in his favorites, all in the name of the "public's right to know." If an enemy of his makes a minor mistake in grammar or history, your subject is quite willing to remind the viewers of it by casually dropping the mistake into one of his shows and even more casually letting the viewers know that anyone who could make such a gaffe is, after all, not one of us. However, let one of his favorites make the same error and your subject will either ignore it or use it in such a way that it makes the politician in question look more "human."

As interesting as all of this is from a professional point of view, much more interesting to me is your continued use of the ju-jitsu principle. You have your victim (shall we not be candid? You know, you sly old devil, you have won the day) irrevocably convinced that he is concerned with "reporting the truth" and that anyone who disagrees with his choice of facts must either be eager to hide the truth or in the pay of the devil. (Nice touch, that last.) If political figures attack him, he is utterly certain that they want to hide the truth, when what many of them want is the *whole* truth, *all* sides of the story. When pressed on this issue, he smiles coyly, admits he is only human (why do they make such a fuss about being human?) and says that what he attempts to be is not "objective," but "fair." He is quite beyond the stage now when he might have asked himself why anyone should have to rely upon his sense of fairness in order to get the whole story. By this time, he has become a media Name and Names are, happily for our purposes, less content with examining themselves and their motives than with making sure others (chosen by them) are examined, analyzed, dissected or destroyed.

I applaud your exquisite timing in the matter of his social life. Only a few years ago, when he was starting out, he would never have dreamed of attending private dinners given by high-ranking government officials. He feared that he might begin to lose his professional objectivity if he began to know these officials on a social, personal basis. And only a few years from now, he will no longer care if he is invited for a private dinner party at a certain famous mansion owned by a certain famous family. But now, just now, at this moment in his career, it is quite essential for him to believe that he is not only a reporter of the news but in some sense an equal of these glamorous folk who make the news. And so he dines regularly with a certain "set," he is seen at famous restaurants with the same "crowd" and all the time he is convincing himself that it is quite all right because, after all, he can't be "bribed." Ah, the delicious irony of it all: one can't bribe a police reporter with money because he has too much pride; but one can easily bribe a well-paid media personality without money — because he too has pride!

Keep up the splendid work!

As Ever,
Asmodeus

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A SYMPOSIUM

The Seventies:

America's Promise as a World Power

The World Role of the United States

George Will

Brazenly, and with full consciousness of the nature of the deed, I want to commit a cultural rarity. I want to praise the United States' role as a *blessed* — yes, blessed — 'responsible nation' with such great power that it can act in the international arena to promote its principles of justice, as well as the necessities of its national safety.

Today we are passing through a period of danger and doubt far graver than President Kennedy understood when he took office a decade ago.

The torch of freedom has indeed been passed to a new generation of Americans — and they do not have a clear idea of what to do with it. This is alarming because this is the generation to which has been granted (in President Kennedy's Inaugural words), "the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger."

There is in America a deep and divisive unease — not to say bafflement — concerning how we, as a people, should act upon the words with which President Kennedy concluded his Inaugural Address — the words that "here on earth God's work must truly be our own."

There are those — and they are legion — who argue that we have neither the right, duty, nor capacity to attempt good works on this earth except on that part of the earth that lies within the boundaries of the territorial United States. This argument betokens a weariness and puzzlement which some persons are working to translate into a political movement toward isolationism. There are those, such as Walter Lippmann, who candidly call themselves isolationists. There are others who, for one reason or another, shun the name while promoting the doctrine.

My concern here is with the various moral perspectives involved in the current confusion about America's duties as a world power. I want to do three things. First, I want to reject the terms of the debate about this thing called "Globalism." Second, I want to examine the source of the uneasiness concerning our world role. Third, I want to say some kind things about a vigorous, internationalist world role.

Globalism

A specter is haunting the American public — the specter of globalism. As I understand it, "globalism" is a recently minted term, designed for partisan use in highly charged polemical argument. It is intended to conjure up alarming spectacles, and to have a thoroughly perjorative connotation. It is not in the nature of such terms to carry precise meaning. But generally the term "globalism" refers to a policy whereby the United States undertakes to act as a "world policeman," vigorously enforcing its law — or interests or something — on all non-conforming subjects, at all points on the compass.

The policy of "globalism" is a straw-man — an option which no responsible American political leader now advocates. The idea of "globalism" is a red-herring — a diversion intended to distract attention from the real issue. It is only interesting for what we can learn from it about the motives of those who want to distract us.

The specter of "globalism" has been conjured into existence by persons interested in giving a particular structure to the current debate about America's international role. This is a common political tactic: control the terminology of the argument and thereby predetermine the outcome. However, all that is needed to render the tactic ineffective is to recognize it.

Since 1948 the U. S. has played the international role formulated by Roosevelt, Truman and Marshall.

But now the nation is anxious for a respite from the rigors of history. In this recoil, the nation is drawn toward isolationism without the discomforting necessity of confronting the term "isolationism" — a term that is not newly minted, and one which earned its perjorative connotation as a result of the two decades prior to World War II when an irresponsible America was content to cultivate its gardens.

Thus the term "globalism" puts to political use the fallacy of the false alternative. This is so for two reasons. First, real "globalism" is an alternative no one advocates. Second, the terms of the debate suggest that we now must choose between just two alternatives — "globalism" and something else — whereas, in fact, there are a large number of alternatives on the continuum between unmentioned isolation and unwanted "globalism."

There is one more thing to be noted about the term "globalism."

The continuity of America's various commitments under four Administrations prior to the present one was not denounced as "globalism," except by the minority isolationist wing of the Republican Party that did not follow the internationalist lead of Senator Vandenberg after the war. The term "globalism" was not widely used in response to the Marshall Plan, the Truman Doctrine, Point Four, to massive foreign aid appropriations, a participation in NATO or SEATO, the organization of American States, or the Alliance for Progress.

These various commitments do not amount to a policy of "policing the world," and, in fact, these policies did not provoke the theory of "globalism." In fact, the term is only used to denounce a specific use of military force on behalf of an Asian nation victimized by the expansionist nationalism and Communism of a neighbor.

"Globalism" is a term that has only gained wide currency among men who will forgive any excess committed in the name of other peoples' nationalism. It is ironic that the term "globalism" has been adopted by many of the persons who, in the thirties, strenuously urged the U.S. to intervene in Spain to prevent the success of a totalitarian nationalism — and Franco at least committed his enormities in his own nation.

These are the facts about "globalism," in the light of which one can appreciate Lord Acton's statement that nothing is so embarrassing as the pedigree of an idea.

National Uneasiness

What is more significant than the tactical use of the term "globalism" is the national uneasiness which the idea of "globalism" is designed to exploit. This uneasiness is, in part, an entirely sensible response to the new dangerousness of the world and to the dumb prolongation of the Vietnam War.

But it is more than this; it is more than a prudential uneasiness; it has a moral dimension. This uneasiness is a manifestation of a chronic difficulty with the nation's prevailing liberal philosophy.

To understand this uneasiness one must go back to President Kennedy's admonition that today makes us uneasy — the admonition that here on earth God's work must truly be our own. And then we must go back sixty years or more, to another young President, to Theodore Roosevelt.

Teddy Roosevelt, the first president to recognize the internationalism in America's future, accepted with equanimity the prospect of America as an active world power. In fact he did more than accept it — he relished it. And he wanted the American nation to share

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his enthusiasm for (as he put it) standing at Armageddon and battling for the Lord.

The Republican Roosevelt was a great president because his restlessness had a moral dimension. He was restless but not aimless. He had a moral focus.

Roosevelt wanted not just a vigorous nation, but a nation vigorously doing good works. The Republican Roosevelt wanted the nation to act just as the First Republican President had urged the nation to act — with *firmness* in the right as God gives us to see the right. Teddy Roosevelt's vigor and confidence and commitment to action typified much of what is best and most unique in the powerful living tradition of this most purposeful nation.

But this restless moral energy stands today as a kind of lingering rebuke to us all. When we understand the kind of commitment to good works that he felt the nation could sustain, we must feel, all the more poignantly, the gap that separates us from that president who relished standing at Armageddon and battling for the Lord.

There are two important things that separate us from him. The first is a development in physics. The second is a new bout with an old weakness in our philosophy.

The development of physics is obvious. The pace of change in the technology of weaponry has not appreciably slowed since the quantum jump supplied by the Manhatten Project twenty-six years ago. This has changed Armegaddon from an article of flamboyant presidential rhetoric into a grim political option. But more important than technology is the role of American liberalism in provoking moral uneasiness about foreign policy.

Jefferson vs. Madison

American liberalism has two strands, complementary but distinguishable.

The one strand is the confident, eighteenth century Enlightenment doctrine of self-evident truths regarding natural rights, truths accessible equally to all men. This is the Jeffersonian strand that made possible the founding of this country.

The other strand is Madisonian, and it is the strand on which the nation actually was founded. This is the "Federalist" strand, and it supports a political order that is marvelously efficient and yet, at times, strangely unsatisfying. Let me explain.

Our country is founded on the assumption that men are primarily calculators of their own interests and that the political system must accommodate itself to this hard fact about the species. A reader of the *Federalist Papers*, and especially of Madison's papers Ten and Fifty-One, is struck by this fact: the American political system is designed to "supply the defect of better motives." The system is designed to work even when no one is acting from any motives other than calculated self-interest.

The nation has always hoped for better from its citizens and has often received it. Ironically, the nation received it most conspicuously from that noble generation to which fell the task of founding a system that would work without anyone having noble motives.

This shrewdly designed system has served us well. But the bleak moral assessment of man that underlies the system has left the nation justifiably uneasy and susceptible to a serious instability in its moral behavior.

Surely part of our susceptibility to enthusiastic and evangelical movements at home, and to crusades abroad, stems from our desire to seize upon opportunities for the explicitly moral behavior that our system does not demand. We are afflicted with a desire to prove ourselves better than the self-interested creatures our philosophy says we are.

And in our periodic efforts to transcend our philosophic self-portrait we swing from the behavior of pure calculation to something equally unhealthy: the dogmatic embracing of pure duties. By "pure duty" I mean this: a kind of commitment which seems especially exalted because it is entirely free from all taint of self-interest or other kinds of calculation.

Performance of a "pure duty" is almost altruistic. The imperative behind a "pure duty" disdains calculation of national self-interest; the imperative behind a "pure duty" is scarcely of this world.

Americans are quite right to go in search of real duties, regardless of how little moral exertion is reqired of them by their "Federalist" system. The ability to know one's duties is one of the things that distinguishes men from hyenas. But a susceptibility to the appeal of "pure duties" — an appeal that will brook no moderation — is one of the things that makes men behave like hyenas.

The trouble with "pure duties" is three-fold.

First, the very idea of a "pure duty" involves the idea of a mission so holy that its obligatory nature cannot be called into question by any conceivable empirical evidence or unanticipated contingency. That is, a "pure duty" involves a categorical imperative that insulates the actor from any need to think about anything but the tactics of success.

This points up the second difficulty with the idea of "pure duty": it conveys a sense of self-righteousness that is apt to lead one to countenance ruthless measures.

Third, the pursuit of "pure duty" will not easily be tempered by an acceptance of partial success — it must result in total victory, unconditional surrender, or a "final solution."

This inability of the "Federalist" doctrine to make healthy moral demands, and thereby satisfy the nation's healthy appetite for moral enterprises, can result in reckless intoxication with actions dictated by "pure duty".

On the other hand, this weakness of the "Federalist" doctrine also generates a moral fecklessness.

When Americans despair of finding moral guides in the "Federalist" strand of our liberalism, they resort to the standards spelled out with depressing explicitness in liberalism of the Oliver Wendell Holmes sort. That is, they fall back on the Holmesian notion that the best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the marketplace of ideas.

In relation to foreign affairs, this translates into a reliance on foreign marketplace. Consider the following.

One index of the national uneasines about its own standards, and its own ability to chart a path to political right, is that Americans are unsure about how to perform the majestic duty stipulated in the Declaration of Independence — the duty of acting "with decent respect to the opinions of mankind."

Morality vs. Popularity

Thanks to the complementary efforts of sociologists and moral philosophers, Americans have become conscious of a particularly undesirable social type that flourishes in this country. This type is the "other-directed" man described so vividly, and deplored so vehemently, in the last two decades.

The "other-directed" man is a hollow man, possessed of few and flimsy beliefs or traits that are truly his own. He is derivative, by determining his value and conduct by the approbation of others. He has been the object of healthy national fretting.

Today we are in danger of becoming an "other-directed" nation — hollow, and content to derive our standards of political right from whatever behavior happens to be winning the inchoate "approval" of foreign populations.

This base attitude manifests itself in the argument that says we should pass civil rights bills to mollify Ghana or Chad. What Nonsense! We should pass such bills *because they are right* and we should adopt foreign policies for exactly the same reason. Period.

The fixation with foreign opinion reached an apotheosis of sorts during the dreary 1960 presidential campaign. Then the candidates frittered away the nation's time with arguments over the Quemoy and Matsu islands, over apologizing for the U-2 incident and over Harry Truman's use of strong language. But the nadir of the campaign was a lot of solemn nonsense about some unpublished government polls purporting to show that, by some

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undisclosed measure, American "prestige" had fallen below some magic level among some undisclosed foreign constituency.

It was not always this way with American political leaders.

The men who issued the Declaration of Independence did so out of decent respect for the opinions of mankind. But they were hardly "other-directed" men. They were not to be intimidated by public opinion, at home or abroad. They undertook treason and revolutionary war on the basis of truths they held to be self-evident, not on the basis of public applause or private polls.

In this regard, Boswell records that Dr. Johnson was once moved to exclaim, "I am willing to love all mankind — except an American." Dr. Johnson was exclaiming like that in 1778, when Americans were busy doing what they believed right and necessary, in spite of the protestations of such distinguished foreign opinion. It is a precedent we should always be ready to follow.

James Russell Lowell, poet and practicing dove in the great national debate about the Mexican war, was moved to declare: "They are slaves who dare not be — In the right with two or three." It is true of slave men and slave nations. It is a warning against enslavement by public opinion. As President Kennedy declared in the ringing conclusion to his Inaugural Address, when we go forth to do right on this earth, we must act "with a good conscience our only sure reward, and with history the final judge of our deeds." In fine, however-much our present liberalism prods us, we must reject the Holmesian nation that the best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the marketplace of ideas. Markets test preferences, not-truth. Hence we must also reject the doctrine that the best test of a policy is the power of the policy to win applause in world-wide popularity contests.

American liberalism of the Holmesian variety is a very different commodity than that liberalism which animated the supremely confident politics of the nation's founders.

Under the influence of modern American liberalism the nation acquired a guilty conscience about possessing firm ideas about political right and wrong. Liberalism equates a confidently held moral belief to a sin against the open mind, and we are left with an ethical doctrine which cannot distinguish between an open mind and an empty mind.

It is but a short step to the belief that confidence in the worthiness of your civilization must be a violation of the canons of philosophic propriety. We are left with nothing but a vague sense of obligation to all mankind — but this obligation is empty — it is politically void because mankind does not exist as an operative unit in the world order.

The Holmesian "free-market" substitute for real moral reasoning cannot, in the long run, satisfy the American search for real moral duties any more than the "Federalist" self-interest ethic can. Hence modern liberalism cannot be counted on to prevent periodic intoxication with policies supposedly embodying "pure duty".

Remember, the danger that the nation will embark on policies of "pure duty" stems from the nation's longing for some moral imperatives better than those demanded by the "Federalist" morality of calculation, and this kind of noble imperative cannot be drawn from Holmesian liberalism.

Hence this liberalism is not only reckless, but, in the long run, it even lacks the ability to prevent the more dangerous kinds of moral recklessness.

This is serious because reckless behavior in the name of "pure duty" may give morality a bad name — and, in fact, it has almost done just that. Action done from a sense of "pure duty" deserves criticism, but unfortunately such action is often criticized as "moralizing."

Those who criticize America for "moralizing" are guilty of terminological imprecision. To moralize, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, is "to make (an event) the subject of moral reflection." Surely these morally intense critics are not against that! Their intelligence is bewitched by their language, and they are led into perceiving another false alternative. They are led into thinking that the only way to avoid the evils of pursuing "pure duty" is to withdraw from foreign involvements.

In the interest of avoiding the evil of what they mistakeningly call a "moralizing" foreign policy, they cast doubt on the possibility of a moral foreign policy. What these critics should properly be against is the national oscillation between pure self-interest calculation and "pure duty" as its motives for action. This, it is clear, involves an oscillation between being ignoble and being dangerous.

Bismark was fascinated with the vicissitudes of American history, with its instabilities and passions, and its frequent disregard of traditional sobrieties regarding external affairs. Bismark was actually mystified by our ability to behave as we do and survive, and he could only conclude that "God must love drunks, babies, and the United States." If we want to survive and prosper without relying on the special partiality of a deity, we had better reform the philosophy which makes us susceptible to the appeal of "pure duties."

But it does not follow that we must or should shun morality.

To do so would imply the belief that, in the long run, moral behavior is dysfunctional or otherwise imprudent. That is the counsel of cynicism. And it is the counsel of despair, born of cynicism, to believe that moral reasonings are incompetent in the great and deadly business of promoting justice and felicity between nations.

What we need is sober calculation concerning how best to honor our duty to advance our various ideals. What we do not need is a dangerouus disjunction between the life of calculation and the fulfillment of real or imagined duties.

Two Types of Sins

Not surprisingly, in reflecting about the nation's international rights and duties we are led back to one of the oldest questions in the Western philosophy — "Am I my brother's keeper?" To be sure, even if one desires a foreign policy fashioned to fit our finest moral precepts one can go astray. For example we may accept the erroneous idea that a nation is behaving morally only when it is not intervening in the affairs of other nations. This idea presupposes that, for nations, the only sins are sins of commission. *For surely, for men and nations, there are both sins of commission and sins of ommission.*

If the only national sins in foreign affairs were sins of commission, we could safely withdraw from that realm, and with that simple act gain exemption from sin. This would be splendid, because we could live our lives entirely absorbed in ourselves, and we would be assured of moral purity. But the world is rarely that simple, and no reflective person believes that morality involves nothing but perfecting one's private life.

Morality, for moral men and moral nations, is an other-regarding thing (which has nothing to do with being an "other-directed" man). A person who is properly "other regarding" understands that ignoring others, and allowing them to fend for themselves, is not always showing proper regard for others.

Morality often does involve self-restraint. But this should be self-restraint in the interest of others. And it is not always possible to assume that self-restraint in the interest of others means shackling our own power. On the contrary, often "self-restraint in the interest of others" will mean a willingness to deny our desire not to

Democracy in Action

Terry Krieger

On 15 August 1971, Mr. Richard (Pennsylvania Kid) Wilson was elected King of the Hobos at the Seventy-First annual National Hobo Convention held in Britt, Iowa. The election procedure at a hobo convention is that each candidate makes a speech and, after the speeches are over, the candidate who receives the most applause from the crowd becomes King. The Pennsylvania Kid's predecessor, (Hard Rock) Mislen, attended the convention. Among unsuccessful candidates were Arthur (Slow Motion Shorty) Paricer, Tim (Connecticut Slim) Moylan, who sang what the New York *Times* described as "an obscure love song," James (Big Town) Gorman, James (Open Road) Langford, and Sam Long, better known as Scissors Sam, who urged the crowd to throw a real bum into office.

We at the Saturday Evening Club congratulate the Pennsylvania Kid but regret the defeat of the progressive-minded Scissors Sam.

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get involved in some of the world's nastiest disputes.

Moral isolationism is not morality, for men or nations. We may regret this in the quiet hours of the night. How convenient it would be if moral behavior boiled down only to caring well for one's own interest. But Liberals, who correctly urge involvement and commitment at home as the true moral life, develop a strange double standard when they suggest minimal involvement abroad is the proper posture for a moral nation. This makes being moral suspiciously convenient.

What makes virtue hard is that morality is stern. It requires the actor to consider the interests of others. Surely we frequently identify an act as a moral act, precisely because it is done at the sacrifice of the actor's convenience and safety.

We frequently must inconvenience ourselves, as a nation, to avoid sins of omission. It is worthwhile for my generation to be reminded that activist America is quite capable of sins of omission — the sin of non-involvement. Thirty-one years ago this nation was committing such a sin.

That is, there is a lingering stain of shame attached to the whole matter of U.S. entrance into the European theater of World War II. I do not refer to the fact that Franklin Roosevelt campaigned in 1940 on the pledge of peace and non-involvement while intending all along a steadily increased involvement that could only soon lead to war. The shame is in the fact that the nation's leader had to behave that way in order to get the nation to behave honorably.

Power Demands Responsibility

What could have been more honorable than going to war against Hitler uninvited? How embarrassing it should be for an American to reflect that Hitler declared war on us before we declared war on him. The sin of omission was in going to war too late. The gravest political problem is the relation of theory — including and especially moral theory — to practice. But however we translate our moral precepts into foreign policy practice, surely we must proceed on the basis of two facts. One is that the power of America as a sovereignty continues to grow, measured in both absolute and relative terms. The second fact is that there is no way for America to escape the choices and burdens that traditionally face fully sovereign, and very powerful, nation states.

First, consider American power.

In terms of the all-important indeces — economic and technological advances — the crucial gaps in the world continue to widen. It is well-known that the economic and technological gap between the developed and underdeveloped nations is widening. What is neither widely recognized nor properly appreciated is the fact that the gap between the United States and the other developed nations is widening in America's favor. Economic and technological power are today, more than ever, the sinews of national power. Hence we must recognize that American power is not about to wane or diminish. In some respects America may be approaching a zenith of multidimensional power which far exceeds the fleeting pre-eminence that went with our brief post-war nuclear monopoly.

Second, consider the question of sovereignty.

Regardless of one's ultimate hopes, one must not let one's wishes parent one's thoughts. One must recognize that there is no supra-national body that can assume significant political tasks in a divided world. America's high hopes for international organizations grew from the trauma of the Second World War and from the suspicion that it all might have been avoided if we had been less jealous of its sovereignty and joined the League of Nations.

Great American Series

Nuclear war has become "the broading omnipresence, under the Shadow of which the nation-states impinge on one another."

Dean Acheson

Today high hopes for the UN have been drastically — but not, I think, excessively — pruned back in the face of two realizations.

The first is the realization that it is impossible to impose any kind of sovereignty on a severely divided constituency — and the world constituency is as divided as ever.

The second realization is that governmental operations, by a supra-national organization, in a world of armed and assertive nation states, requires more skill, dexterity and wisdom than the vast majority of nations can bring to bear on their own domestic affairs. Not surprisingly, as shown before, and during and after the 1967 Arab-Israeli conflict, the UN has a capacity for ineptitude and downright mischief that is altogether too characteristic of sovereignties created in the middle of the 20th century.

Given all this, we must shape our foreign policy in the light of two facts: we shall remain capable of exercising great power; and we are on our own as a sovereign nation.

Power Defined

Not too much necessarily follows from this. It does mean that, in a sense, the nation simply cannot make much use of the pithy advice Harry Truman gave politicians when he snapped, "If you can't stand the heat, stay out of the kitchen." We are in the kitchen to stay and if we are going to behave well there, we will need a clear notion of what we mean by power.

There are many definitions of power abroad in the land nowadays. They grow and bloom and multiply with special fecundity on the burned-over terrain of academic political science. But for our purposes we can borrow a definition of power from Bertrand Russell, whose powers of conceptual analysis are inversely proportional to his practical wisdom (and that means that his powers of conceptual analysis are very great indeed).

Russell understands power as "the achievement of intended effects." A powerful nation is not just one that can achieve what it intends. A tiny or timid nation that attempts very little may achieve all that it intends, but it will still not be a truly powerful nation by any stretch of the imagination or definition. Hence we must say: a powerful nation is one that usually achieves intended effects, *and which often attemps difficult and sometimes perilous things*.

The concept of power seems to exert a hypnotic fascination over persons nowadays. On the homefront the word "power" has become an element of effective political slogans among persons who seem more concerned with prescribing the proper color for power — be it black or white — than they are with prescribing the ends to which power should be put.

In recent writings about foreign affairs there is a similar focus on the brute fact of American power. Theodore Draper has itemized what the title of his book calls *The Abuse of Power*. Former Senator McCarthy has focused on what the title of his books calls *The Limits of Power*. And Senator Fulbright has castigated the nation for what the title of his book calls *The Arrogance of Power*.

What is vital is that the *analysis* of power — defining it and measuring it — should be considered a part of a larger and more vital form of reflection. We must not lose sight of the fact that national power is directionless and often inert until disciplined and directed by our own decisions in the political process.

The sort of arrogance that Fulbright thinks he detects is the arrogance of those persons whose power insulates them from the need to justify their actions, and hence which, in the end, insulates them from the need to reason and think. This insulation breeds ignorance and arrogance, and the joining of ignorance and arrogance is more potentially destructive than the splitting of the atom. It remains true, as Einstein said, that the world is more apt to be destroyed by bad politics than by bad physics.

The Burden of Choice

But so long as we face squarely the fact that the political process must breathe life and, hopefully, honor into the nation's raw capacity for powerful action, we must face the burden of choice. This complicates matters considerably. For example, when we recognize the many possible choices we can make, for good or ill, we may discover that there are more kinds of arrogance under the sun than are denounced in Senator Fulbright's thin book.

There may be an arrogance behind a choice to renounce power, or reject commitments, or deny responsibilities, or disdain certain peoples' interest on the grounds that they are unworthy of American exertions.

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Today there are those who criticize American commitments because they involve people and places "10,000 miles away from home." I do not want to raise the general argument about the uses of historical analogy in contemporary political considerations, or the argument about the particular parallels between 1938 and 1971. But when one hears an American commitment criticized because it is many miles from home, one cannot but recall Nevile Chamberlain's description of Czechoslovakia as "a distant nation."

More importantly, critics cannot have it both ways. If peoples and places 10,000 miles away are too distant to properly engage our interest and energies, then the critics must acknowledge that these lands are still 10,000 miles away when the foreign aid bill comes before Congress. One is struck by the fact that many critics, who now object to American concerns 10,000 miles away, are vigorous supporters of foreign aid bills. Then these critics remind us that it is one world, one *small* world.

In this latter argument the critics are correct and persuasive.

The American record of generosity is unexcelled in the annals of statecraft. Americans understand that for those to whom much is given, much is asked. Hence they understand the obligation of the wealthy to share with the poor. But Americans also understand that there is a corollary obligation — the obligation of the powerful to share their power with the weak.

At this point it may be useful to confront two kinds of arguments that are often invoked by those seeking a shift away from internationalism, a shift away from the American tradition of sharing wealth *and power*.

The first argument is an argument about capabilities. The second is an argument about priorities.

The Usefulness of Force

The first argument holds that the usefulness of force is illusory — that "force settles nothing." The second argument holds that we cannot justify the expenditure — of material wealth and moral energy — involved in applying force abroad until we have cured all our own social ills.

First, the notion that force "never settles anything" simply will not withstand an elementary acquaintance with the contours of history, including American history.

When the violence of American musketry and cannon prevailed from Trenton to Yorktown in the Revolutionary War, something was settled: America would be an independent nation. When the rifles and cannon of the men in Blue shattered the ranks of the men in Gray at the Angle on Gettysburg's Cemetery Ridge, something was settled: America would be one nation, not two. When the combined American land, sea, and air forces prevailed at Midway, Guadalcanal, Leyte Gulf and Okinawa, something was settled: the nations of South East Asia would be spared the experience of being hammered into what the Japanese warlords were fond of calling the "Greater Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere." When American troops, aided by the United Nations' forces, first destroyed the invading North Korean army, and they pushed the Red Chinese north of the 38th parallel to stay, something was settled: South Korea would not be conquered.

And when President Kennedy resolved to send American troops into South Vietnam, and when President Johnson, continuing the policy of his predecessor, in February, 1965, supplemented the effort on the ground in the South and sent planes into the air over the North, something was settled: the Community military victory that was imminent in that bleak February was thwarted, to the point that now a Communist military victory is impossible.

Obviously we should reject the quite implausible notion that "force never settles anything." But rejecting this does not commit one to very much. One need not deny that there are a great many things that force cannot solve.

The Revolutionary War settled one problem — British sovereignty over the colonies — and by doing so created a huge new problem — the problem of forming one nation from thirteen colonies. The military victory in the Civil War solved one problem — the threat of succession — but of course it did not solve the problem of what to do with the freed slaves and the conquered South. Yet the victory was progressive and constructive because it left some new American dilemmas — including a racial dilemma far better to live with than slavery.

There is an important lesson here about the usefulness of force. The very fact that some grave *new* problems confront the victors after armed force has disposed of old problems may be itself powerful evidence that armed force was very successful. Hence it seems safe to say that, while force cannot settle everything, it certainly can settle some things, and that there is hopeful precedent that it can settle things for the better.

The False Alternative

But what about the other argument, which holds that we cannot justify exertions abroad until we have solved all our domestic ills?

First, we should recognize one thing. Internal storm and stress is the unbroken rule for Americans as we continue with considerable success the unprecedented project of governing a multiracial republic on a continental scale. It is clear that even if it were possible to delay having foreign involvements until we built a New Jerusalem at home, we would never step upon the world stage.

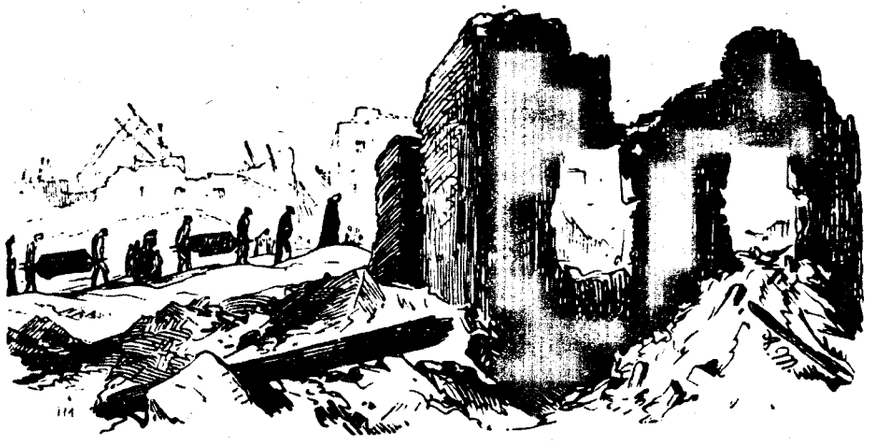
Nevertheless, we are now in a period of grave internal stress, and there are those who think we must make another one of those stark, absolute choices, this time the choice between domestic rehabilitation and international action.

The notion that conditions require us to choose one to the exclusion of the other involves, again, the fallacy of the false alternative. Serious men of good will may disagree about the wisdom of making this choice. My point is that the choice is not necessary. There are other options.

The nation has been fighting the fourth bloodiest war in its history while never devoting more than four per cent of its Gross National Product to the war. This is a nation that can manage extensive good works at home and abroad.

Of course to show that his double effort is economically possible and morally mandatory, does show that it is apt to be made. That depends on the political process — on the choices we make for ourselves. In looking at the matter correctly, we are driven away from what we are really comforting notions of necessity and inevitability with regard to our options, and we are confronted with this dismaying truth: we *can* choose to make great exertions at home *and* abroad; it all depends on our good intentions.

To ignore our domestic ills would be to commit the sin of neglect. But, on the other hand, given our huge capacities, to use the existence of domestic exigencies as an excuse to curtail our international responsibilities would be to commit the sin of sloth. A contraction of our concerns may well be popular today; some politically interested men have staked their careers on the cultivation of sentiment in favor of such contraction. But we must not lose sight of the fact that such a contraction is a matter of choice; we must now allow ourselves to take comfort from the illusion that these great decisions are dictated by vast impersonal forces.



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When the forces of contraction, withdrawl, isolation and indifference are on the rise, America badly needs leadership that will call the nation to her duty, as Milton did for his nation when he declared: "Let not England forget her precedence of teaching nations how to live." Americans, as heirs to the first and most successful democratic revolution, and as heirs to an honorable tradition of engagement beyond her shores, now have precedence in teaching nations how to live. This is not the time for Americans to forget that there is more to living well than cultivating one's own garden, however splendidly it may bloom in the end.

Certainly we must not rest until our domestic garden blooms. "What is our task?" Lloyd George asked his nation after the 1918 armistice. He answered: "To make Britain a fit country for heroes to live in. But we must also continue this century's honorable business of furnishing forth American heroes when they are needed by those less blessed than we with wealth and power.

Keep Your Powder Dry

All I have wanted to do in these remarks is encourage a sensitivity to the many moral dimensions of our condition as a powerful nation blessed with power, and hence, blessed with the burden of choice that goes with the capacity for powerful action. I have no general theory that will unravel future riddles. The only "general theory" that comes to mind is one which Margaret Meade, borrowing from Cromwell, says is the basic American advice: "Keep your powder dry." I offer no "general theory" of international strategies and tactics because such theories are inconvenient; they dull our awareness of the uniqueness of each case, and thus encourage recourse to doctrine and formulae when we should be examining fresh evidence.

Another problem with general theories is that we are an incurably empirical people and have an irresistable urge to test theories. In an armed world this can be dangerous.

It was Edmund Burke who told us that the problem with general theories of political behavior is that they can be distractions.

The great contribution of Burkean conservative political philosophy is that it tempers our expectations from general theories. Burke did not devalue all general theories — after all, he gave the world a Burkean theory. But he placed squarely at the center of political reflection the problem of the relation to theory to practice.

Burke's genius lay in sketching the limitations of all theories which purport to give answers to questions of correct behavior in vast numbers and varieties of future cases. He only had confidence in the general axioms of practical wisdom learned by personal coping with particular cases. Burke affected a salutary lowering of our confidence in the capacity of general theories to encompass the unique subtleties of particular cases. In the midst of confusion about our nation's world role, we should not go lusting after general theories, however soothing.

America's Proper Roles

Let us merely be vigilant lest we manifest the most squalid kind of arrogance of power. This is the arrogance of a wealthy people which despises the needs of others and reserves its wealth exclusively for its own enjoyment. It is the arrogance of a powerful people complacently hoarding its abundant power as it hoards its abundant wealth — that is, for its own exclusive convenience.

Withdrawal from our world role into splendid isolation would manifest a complacency born of arrogance, an arrogance addressed to the less fortunate. One wishes Americans would consult Hilaire Belloc's delighftul *Cautionary Tales* and read about Godolphin Horne: "Godolphin Horne was nobly born, He held the human race in scorn." America is a nobly born nation, conceived to embody some admirable principles of justice. Americans are also given to take sides, and have done so at various times and places. If we cease to do so we will lend great plausibility to the suspicion that our concern for our own convenience betokens scorn for the interest of others who find the world more dangerous and afflicting than we. Or perhaps it will only appear that we hold *part* of the human race in scorn. This is surely how it will appear if we discover the virtues of non-involvement at a time when our traditional internationalism calls for great exertions on behalf of non-white, non-Europeans. It will be tragic if the developed nations cannot reject the idea of a white man's burden without becoming indifferent to the non-white man's afflictions.

As President Kennedy declared in his Inaugural Address, "the same revolutionary beliefs for which our forbearers fought are still at issue *around the globe*." He said. "We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first Revolution." As the President so clearly understood, we dare not forget this because it would be imprudent and, more important, it would be ignoble for us to stand aloof while our beliefs are at issue around the globe.

It was in the light of this conviction that President Kennedy prescribed an active, powerful, internationalist, interventionist role for the United States. This role accorded with his conception of the nation as one "proud of its ancient heritage, and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed and to which we are committed today at home and *around the world*."

Kennedy's Inaugural Address has already been enshrined as one of our great state papers, a part of this nation's precious heritage of words that are deeds, words that move the listening nation to worthy commitments and re-dedications.

But, unhappily, these are words that many persons today adore on parchment but oppose in practice.

The late President's commitment to both the theory and the practice was demonstrated in his words and his policies. The clear record of history will protect President Kennedy's good name from the revisionism of lesser men who seek to exploit his name while abandoning his vision. The depredations of these lesser men are unfortunate not only for what they do to the memory of a good man. They are unfortunate because this country will be more secure *and more admirable* to the extent we as a nation — not as Republicans or Democrats, but as Americans — accept and rejoice in the vision of America's world role which the late President voiced a decade ago.

This vision does credit to the nation and it insures the late President an honored place in the ranks of those statesmen who used the power of eloquence to leave an honorable impress on the national consciousness. But it is the nature of such an impress that it can fade if it is not renewed, and it can be erased by the unopposed efforts of willful man.

This is the source of the special drama and importance of the 1972 Presidential campaign. The nation is weary and there are persons anxious to cater to that weariness; men will come forward to pledge relief from the heat of the kitchen; men will come forward to offer rationales for an easier life. Hopefull, there will be other men anxious to combat, rather than cater to, this desire to renounce the strenuous life of a responsible and purposeful great power. These men will be the true heirs of President Kennedy's vision of an internationalist America; to these men will fall the task of holding the nation to what President Kennedy called "the long twilight struggle" for the expanded enjoyment of political principles which were born here, but which are not our private property.

Manifest Duty

We can act to do good works here on earth, and can act with a decent respect for the opinions of mankind, if and only if we have a decent respect for ourselves, and a healthy suspicion of general doctrines that purport to give exhaustive advice for a world of troublesome contingencies.

We will have to temper and modify our prevailing liberalism to achieve a stable assessment of ourselves as a nation, a stable notion of the things that matter most, and a stable appraisal of the possibilities of practical, forceful action on behalf of those things that matter. But even without reforma-

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tion in our philosophy, we need not despair.

America's departure from the single-minded pursuit of self-interest — which our philosophy sanctions but which is unsatisfying — is the option of free men with free minds. It is the option of men open to fresh evidence, and still capable of new departures.

American's know very well — from experience — that they make their own history. Americans have never been tempted by historicist doctrines, and hence they have been immune from the blind confidences and black fatalisms that historicisms generate. In short, Americans have never believed that history is composed of enveloping tides which nullify and mock man's efforts at voluntary action. Nor need they now believe the derivative doctrines of so-called "realists" that purports to show, in the fashionable formulation that "power has its own logic."

Men have logic, and the capacity to control the power. It all comes down, in the end, to what John Erskine called, "The Moral Obligation to be Intelligent." Happily, Americans no longer worry about their manifest destiny. That is the wrong question, destiny has nothing to do with it. What is at stake is not our manifest destiny but our manifest duty to use our great power on behalf of those principles we believe in. This is a duty we should rejoice in, and which we should hasten to dispatch, using the power with which we have been blessed.

However much one cherishes the notion of a common humanity, the fact is that humanity is divided into nations which behave very differently from one another. And these nations embody conflicting interpretations of justice. Hence, one cannot rationally desire the dissolution of national distinctions and the arrival of homogeneous mankind until one is certain which interpretation of justice will prevail in the end. This side of paradise, national distinctions are important, and there are sound reasons for preferring some nations over others. The justifiable preference for a nation involves a rational endorsement of its justice. Happily, Americans can give — and, indeed, owe — their own nation such an endorsement. Theirs is a nation which, when properly responsive to all aspects of its animating philosophies, can bring sober Madisonian sophistication to the promotion of noble Jeffersonian ideals.

This is what makes American citizenship an honor, a privilege and a joy, and enables one to be hopeful that America's power will continue to be a blessing. □

Erosion of Military Strength

Can There Be Peace Without Power?

The following speech by Senator James L. Buckley was delivered at the National Press Club. Both it and Senator Jackson's subsequent speech are significant manifestations of an increasing apprehension over America's capability to insure world peace.

I would like to talk about the urgent need to *re-reorder* our priorities.

In simpler times, when it was somehow easier to maintain touch with reality than it is today, it was understood that the first priority of any society was to provide for its own survival. This fundamental principle ought to be as self-evident today as it ever has been in the past. Yet for some time now we have been on an anti-military binge which has forced drastic cutbacks in large categories of defense spending which are essential to our security. As a result we are not only falling critically behind in the necessary business of military research and development, but we have allowed our existing forces to deteriorate to a point where the ability of the President of the United States to assure the defense of vital national interests may be in jeopardy.

Because of the attrition caused by inflation, these cutbacks have been far more severe than would appear on the basis of dollar figures alone. We have not simply cut the fat out of military budgets, we have been hacking away at the sinews and muscles as well. By way of illustration, because of inflation and because payroll costs have risen from forty percent of the defense budget for fiscal 1964 to sixty percent of the defense budget submitted for fiscal 1972, in the coming year we will be purchasing forty percent less in military research and hardware than we did eight years ago before we became actively involved in the Vietnam war. These same figures have forced us, over the same eight-year period, to reduce the number of our Navy carrier wings from twenty-four to fifteen, the number of our tactical Air Force squadrons from 119 to 105, and to reduce by almost thirty percent the number of our active naval vessels, from 932 vessels to 658.

The Eleventh Hour

I take no pleasure in reciting these figures. I have never had a consuming interest in military affairs, but because of the responsibilities of my office and because of the growing evidence of America's rapidly deteriorating defenses, I have found it necessary to seek out the facts. And the facts that I have been able to determine and their implications are so very serious that I feel I must do what I can to contribute to a better public understanding of what is at stake. We simply cannot any longer afford the blind attacks on just about every program for military research or military procurement which continue to be made in the name of an overriding need to reorder our priorities. Because in the words of Hanson W. Baldwin, "For the United States... the eleventh hour is here."

Now admittedly, there is no inherent virtue in maintaining extensive and costly military forces or in developing increasingly sophisticated weapons. No nation with peaceful intentions requires or can justify a defense establishment which is larger than that which is necessary to meet the nef of her own security. Yet the adequacy or inadequacy of a nation's defenses is not determined by considerations of domestic priorities, but by the power relationships within which it must operate. And we must keep in mind that in the real world, no country can conduct an effective foreign policy without a military capability which is appropriate to its responsibilities.

In our case, our responsibilities since World War II have necessarily been international in scope as they have concerned themselves primarily with the need to contain the aggressive outward thrust of the Communist powers. These are responsibilities which we did not seek, but which we cannot escape as the only free world power capable of facing up to the Russian challenge. In the past we have succeeded time and again — witness, for example the Berlin and Cuban crises — in causing the Soviets to back away from confrontations which might have ignited a Third World War precisely because we had the military power to back the positions we had to take. The Soviets simply could not risk a test of strength. Our military might, in other words, has been the critical factor in our ability to maintain the tenuous peace which by and large has existed since the end of the Second World War.

The Balance of Terror

While the effectiveness of our foreign policy has ultimately rested on our power to unleash nuclear devastation on any enemy, it has long been an accepted fact at home and abroad that it is unthinkable that the United States should ever initiate an atomic strike. Therefore, the whole fabric of our defense policy has depended on our having sufficient strategic weapons survive any attack launched by an enemy to assure us the ability to deliver a retaliatory strike which would inflict unacceptable losses. This is what our policy of nuclear deterrence has been all about. This is what has been called the balance of terror.

It has therefore been with deep concern that I have found my investigation confirming those recently published stories which conclude that we will soon find ourselves in a position where our deterent capacity will no longer be sufficiently plausible to cause the Soviet Union to back away from future confrontations involving interests vital to the West. What this means, quite simply, is that we are rapidly approaching a point where no American President will be able to emerge from a political confrontation with the Soviet Union with our foreign policy objectives intact, whether that confrontation takes place in the Middle East or Western Europe or even in the Caribbean.

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Since 1965, the Soviet Union has launched and sustained a truly extraordinary drive to increase and modernize every sector of her strategic and conventional forces. As a result, the Soviet Union now has a payload capacity in her intercontinental and submarine-launched ballistic missiles which is capable of delivering eight times as many nuclear warheads as the United States. This buildup so far exceeds any plausible requirement for a policy of deterrence that we can only conclude that the Soviet Union has developed this extraordinary capacity for use in support of her own diplomacy, a diplomacy whose historic goals have always been aggressive.

Another Pearl Harbor?

The conventional wisdom states that any development of nuclear warheads beyond a certain point, whether by the United States or the Soviet Union, is simply superfluous — the disparity in warheads representing merely an "overkill" capacity. I suggest, however, that there is no evidence whatever that the Russians buy this analysis.

For an insight into what may be the Russian view, let us consider what might plausibly be the result of a hypothetical "first strike" attack by the Soviets on our strategic forces. If we assume that Russia's production line technology is equal to our own — and we must — then the existing three hundred Soviet SS-9's could each be equipped with between three and six independently targeted warheads, having a yield of from two to five megatons each. This would give their SS-9's the present capacity to deliver betwen 900 and 1800 warheads, each capable of attacking and destroying one of our Minutemen ICBM's. If we assume further that the Russians employ guidance systems equivalent to those available to us for our Minuteman III and Poseidon missiles, then a "first strike" attack by their SS-9's could destroy on the ground or in port about ninety percent of our land based ICB's fifty percent of our aging B-52 bombers, and one-third of our Polaris submarines before we could even consider a retaliatory strike. And this destruction of our deterrent force could be significantly increased in guidance technology which our own research has already shown to be feasible.

Assuming such an attack, the Soviets would have left over sufficient forces-in-being to pose a continuing threat to our remaining strategic forces and to our cities. This remaining capacity would include over 900 SS-11's, over 400 submarine launched ballistic missiles and nearly 200 bombers. We would, as of the present, still have the suicidal capacity to inflict devastation on those Russian cities not protected by ABM systems, but this remaining deterence could soon be taken from us by an expansion of Russia's ABM defenses.

Two Years of SALT

There are many, of course, who are pinning their hopes on the strategic arms limitation treaty negotiations which are now taking place between the United States and the Soviet Union. In a sensible, rational, truly peace-seeking world, we could have high hopes for the success of these discussions, and the optimist in me believes that such success may in fact be possible, but only if the Soviets are satisfied that we will not deal away our strength in exchange for unenforceable promises. One thing which ought to be clear is that we cannot hope for success if we hide from the cold realities of life, if we let ourselves be carried away by euphoria at every small concession. Let us keep in mind that the SALT talks are now in their second year, and that we have experienced the scope of our research and development of new and more exotic weapons. We simply cannot afford any longer to ignore the fact that the Soviet Union is currently spending three billion dollars per year more than we are on military and space R & D, and that she is expanding these expenditures at the rate of thirteen percent per annum while ours have been declining. For us to continue to fall behind in this critical area is to invite a technological Pearl Harbor.

And further, we must devote a significant portion of this research to developing ways of reducing United States vulnerability to strategic attack. Specifically, we must capitalize on the promising advances which have been made in the once maligned Safeguard program, advances which indicate that major gains in effectiveness can be achieved within the next several years.

This, of course, suggests the need for a major shift in the U.S. strategic philosophy which dominated our planning during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, and which still limits the options available to the Nixon administration. I speak of the theory known as "assured destruction." This doctrine, in brief, holds that our security is best maintained if we make certain that sufficient Russian and American missiles will survive any first attack to guarantee mutual suicide. This requires that each side maintain the vulnerability of its respective populations to nuclear annihilation. Thus, as a result of this involuted reasoning, it became the official policy of McNamara's defense department to make certain that our citizens were exposed to maximum danger. Our failure to deploy defensive ballistic missiles around our major centers of population has resulted in the grotesque implication that U.S. policy prefers dead Russians to live Americans.

Now the trouble with this doctrine is that the Russians have evidently refused to play the game in accordance with the McNamara rules. Since 1964, they have been deploying ballistic missile defenses around their major population center, Moscow; and this system, which is constantly being improved, now offers some measure of protection for fifteen percent of the Soviet population. And as I mentioned earlier, the Russians have expanded their offensive capabilities far beyond the limits required by a philosophy of "assured destruction." Under the circumstances, I cannot see how we can afford to delay any longer those measures within our capabilities which will assure some measure of protection to our major population centers; and I cannot view with equanimity any agreements which might be arrived at in the SALT discussions which would have the effect of preventing us from developing such defenses while preserving for the Soviet Union her current offensive advantage.

Poverty in Preparedness

Our strategic posture, of course, is only part of the story. Under any philosophy of strategic defense, the objective has been to assure a balance of forces which will preclude a resort to nuclear warfare. But while the maintenance of such a balance might avert the horror of an atomic holocaust, it does nothing to eliminate recourse to more conventional forms of warfare; and to the extent that nuclear warfare becomes unthinkable, to that extent must we make certain that we maintain the conventional strength essential to our needs. But here again, while we have allowed our position to deteriorate, the Soviets have been overtaking us with astonishing determination and speed, with consequences which are far from academic.

Let me illustrate the significance of these developments by focusing on one area in which it is generally conceded that the West has strategic interests of critical importance; I speak of the Middle East.

Because of the extreme danger to the interests and security of the West which posed by Soviet expansionism in the Middle East, and because Israel sits athwart Soviet ambitions, we have had a special interest in Israel's continuing independence. American policy, therefore, has sought to assure Israel of the weapons required for her defense against her Arab neighbors, while at the same time we have sought to dissuade the Russians from the kind of adventurism which might escalate Arab-Israeli hostilities into an American-Soviet confrontation. To the latter end, we have relied on the United States Sixth Fleet to provide the credible threat required to deter the Soviets from any temptation to intervene on the side of the Arabs in an all-out attempt at a military conquest of Israel.

In the past, the United States has been able to achieve these twin objectives, and as a result she has helped to keep the Middle East from blowing apart. She has been able to avert, in other words, a crisis of the kind which might have triggered a third world war. But as a result of the persistent cuts in research and procurement which have been imposed on our military in recent years, it is no longer at all certain that the United States will continue to have the capability of meeting these objectives in the future. □

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The Soviet Union, for example, has recently introduced the MIG-23 Foxbat into Egypt's already formidable arsenal. This is an aircraft which can outshoot and outmaneuver anything the Israelis have, and we can do nothing about it because we simply have nothing in our existing military inventory which can challenge the Foxbat. And this of course applies to the primary aircraft utilized by the Sixth Fleet for its own defense and for support of ground operations. I speak of the F-4 Phantom which until recently the Israelis had also counted upon to maintain their air superiority. Yet it is typical of the blinders worn by so many in and out of the Congress today that there are active attempts to scuttle the F-14 Tomcat which is the only aircraft competitive with the Foxbat which we are in a position to deliver to the Navy at a reasonably early date.

The Disappearance of the Sixth Fleet

But this isn't the only problem now facing the Sixth Fleet. The growing obsolescence of its combat vessels, the abandonment of NATO bases along North Africa, the rapid expansion of modern Soviet naval forces in the Mediterranean, and the deployment of Soviet fighter, bomber and reconnaissance squadrons at air bases in Egypt, Libya and Algeria are reducing to the vanishing point the effectiveness of the Sixth Fleet as an instrument of American policy.

Because the simple, quite inescapable fact is that unless action is taken to modernize and reinforce the Sixth Fleet; and unless we are able to develop and deliver to Israel weapons which can challenge those which the Soviets can provide to the Arab states, we will find our Mideast options foreclosed. If our compulsive antimilitarism is not soon brouth to heel, we will find that American foreign policy objectives will have become irrelevant because we will be without the means of implementing them. It will be irrelevant that the United States is committed to the survival of the State of Israel, or that the United States opposes a Russian hegemony in the Middle East, because in a showdown the United States will have no choice but to back down.

And once we begin backing down under pressure here and there around the globe, we will court the disaster of a third world war, because aggressive nations seem inevitably to overestimate the readiness of free men to retreat. This was the lesson of the first and second world wars. It is a lesson which we will forget at our mortal peril.

Military forces are not a luxury but a necessity. So long as we live in a world in which some nations feel a compulsion to dominate others, we have no choice but to maintain those levels of defense which are essential to our survival. Great nations are not allowed the luxury of retiring from the world. For such nations, there can be no peace unless they have the power and the will to defend it.

The Strategic Balance And The Future of Freedom

Senator Henry M. Jackson

The following is a speech by Senator Henry M. Jackson, a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, explaining his concern over America's weakening defense capability.

For more than two decades a central objective of American defense policy has been to prevent a nuclear war by deterring any potential adversary from launching a first strike against us. In accord with this policy we have foresworn development of a capacity to wage preemptive war. We have deliberately sought a defensive, deterrent, second-strike posture — relying on a protected nuclear capacity to launch an overwhelming retaliatory strike against a nuclear aggressor. We have built a mix of strategic forces — land-based and sea-based — so that the exposure of any one element to neutralization or destruction would not negate the entire deterrent. We wanted to permit no doubt as to the certainty and severity of our response in the event that an attack against us should be contemplated — or made.

I believe the American people today are confident that the United States is overwhelmingly superior in military power. Most Americans believe that the military balance leans heavily in our favor, and that in strategic nuclear weapons we have unchallenged supremacy.

Unfortunately what was once true is no longer so. The United States is slipping. The overall strategic balance is tilting in favor of Moscow.

Our deterrent force is only as persuasive as its ability to survive a first strike in sufficient numbers, and to respond effectively. But the capacity of our strategic force to survive is now coming into question. The relentless Soviet strategic and naval build-up poses a serious threat not to just one, but to all three of the elements of our strategic deterrent — ICBMs, bombers and Polaris-Poseidon.

This adverse shift in the strategic equation can hardly help having far-reaching effects upon world politics. A more confident Soviet Union can be expected to throw its weight around more vigorously on behalf of its great power interests, and to raise its bargaining price at the negotiating table. Thus new elements of risk and turbulence will be introduced into international relations, enhancing the dangers in crisis situations.

If present trends continue the Soviets will achieve a preponderance of strategic power that will leave our security impaired by doubt and uncertainty and our friends and allies exposed and vulnerable. If present trends continue there will be an increasing risk of miscalculation of the sort that could result in war.

Facing this prospect, the prime question is: What should the United States do about it?

Some may urge that we move to an immediate offensive build-up of our own. Even some opponents of our protective defense systems — like the ABM — suggest a better alternative is more offensive systems — like Minuteman or ULMS. But this is a prescription for heating up the costly, offensive arms competition, not cooling it down.

Other people are saying that we should accept the Soviet proposal at the SALT talks for an "ABMs only" agreement. But this would tie our defensive hand while permitting Moscow to continue deploying mammoth offensive missiles — the very weapons that could be aimed at destroying our capacity to strike back.

To counter the dangerous shift in the strategic balance we require first a forthright and unvarnished assessment of some unpalatable military and political facts. Caught in all the current cross-fire about "hawks" and "doves," too many politicians are acquiring the protective habits of the ostrich.

The hard fact is that if we are not to be pushed into a whole new build-up of strategic offensive weapons, then we must give our most urgent attention to two priorities:

(1) The protection of our deterrent forces,

(2) The achievement of an arms control agreement on offensive and defensive nuclear systems that will stabilize the strategic balance and not upset it further in Moscow's favor.

The Changing Strategic Equation

In the space of five years —from 1966 to 1971 — the overall strategic balance has moved markedly in favor of the Soviet Union.

In 1966 we had more than 700 long-range bombers, about 600 submarine launched ballistic-missiles, and more than 900 Minuteman intercontinental ballistic-missiles. At that time the Soviets had about 150 long-range bombers, less than 100 SLBMs, and about 250 ICBMs.

Today the United States bomber force is less than 600, our sub-launched missiles have numbered 656 for four years, and our land-based missiles have totaled 1054 for four years. During this time the Soviet bomber force has remained about constant, but their submarine missile force has grown to almost 400 launchers and is expected to overtake ours in two to three years. And the Soviet land-based intercontinental force has risen to over 1440 operational launchers — with more on the way.

Thus while the Soviets are gaining and will soon exceed us in missile weaponry at sea, we have already fallen distinctly behind them on land.

Over this same period the actual destructive power of the U.S. forces has been continually decreased, while the Soviets' destructive power has greatly increased until the total megatonnage that the Soviets could deliver against U.S. targets is several times our own.

The only strategic area in which we are staying ahead is in the number of individual warheads, and we are doing that only by going to small-yield multiples. Even here, however, the Soviets could in time overtake us since their missile forces have considerably greater payload capacity than ours.

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The United States has been relying on a mix of strategic forces — ICBMs, bombers, and Polaris-Poseidon missiles — in order to maintain confidence in our strategic deterrent and to assure against it being neutralized or destroyed. A mix provides insurance that a technological breakthrough against serious failures of performance of any one element due to unexpected circumstances, such as unanticipated weapons effects or insufficient prior warning.

But the Soviets are increasing their capacity to pose a serious threat not to just one but to all three elements of our strategic force.

Threat to ICBM Minuteman Force

We have watched the number of Soviet ICBMs climb steadily since 1966, in spite of four years of American restraint; our total ICBMs is 1054 compared to the Soviet total of over 1440, which includes 300 of the mammoth 25 megaton SS-9s now operational or under construction.

Most recently, there is the disturbing evidence of Soviet construction of a new offensive missile system equal and perhaps superior to the SS-9 capability. We do not yet know exactly what the new system is, but we know it involves missiles not less destructive than the 25 megaton SS-9 and it could mean missiles that are far more destructive than the SS-9. Moreover, the Russians have an ability to deploy between 60 and 70 of these huge new missiles this year. And if they do deploy 70 of the new missiles they would be adding in this one year alone more megatonnage (or destructive power) than the United States has in its entire land-based Minuteman ICBM system.

Since the SS-9 has characteristics that could be well adapted to destroy hardened missile silos in a first strike, but is not at all an efficient weapon for retaliation against cities, one is tempted to conclude that the Soviets are not really committed to deterrence only. For the purpose of retaliation the Soviets have available more than 900 SS-11 and SS-13 missiles similar to our Minuteman and perfectly adequate as a deterrent force. The continued Soviet deployment of their mammoth offensive missiles is a forbidding fact that places our ICBMs at great risk— unless we continue to deploy ABM defenses around our Minuteman silos and take other prudent measures for their security.

Threat to SAC Bomber Force

The growth of the Soviet submarine force poses a severe threat to the second element of our land-based deterrent, the SAC bomber force.

The Soviet Navy can now deploy long-range missiles in submarines hidden underwater along our Atlantic and Pacific coasts and in the Gulf of Mexico. By mid-1971, the Soviets are expected to have operational more than twenty Y Class nuclear-powered ballistic-missile submarines and they are producing them at the rate of about eight a year. By stationing these Yankee Class submarines off our coasts, each capable of submerged launching of sixteen ballistic missiles with an estimated range of 1300 nautical miles, the Soviets can blanket practically the entire United States. When the Soviets have the much longer range missile they have been actively testing, they will be able to do this from either ocean.

The threat to our bombers arises from the extremely short flight time from a submerged submarine off our coasts to our bomber bases. Thus a large fraction of the bomber force would be vulnerable to destruction before it could become airborne. Furthermore, the Soviets have deployed a massive system of air defense which would be arrayed against any reduced numbers of U.S. bombers that survived a missile bombardment and did manage to reach the borders of the Soviet Union. Thus, the effectiveness of our bomber fleet as a deterrent can be seriously downgraded.

Threat to Polaris-Poseidon

The third element of our deterrent, the forty-one Polaris-Poseidon submarines, has not escaped Soviet developments that raise doubt about its long-term survivability.

Our nuclear submarines are potentially

vulnerable to Soviet nuclear attack and cruise-missile submarines, of which the Soviets now have over sixty, and are producing at the rate of six to eight a year. At the same time they are developing more advanced nuclear submarines — including attack submarines that are faster than our own Polaris-types. The Soviets now have the largest and most modern submarine building yards in the world, giving them several times the nuclear submarine construction capacity possessed by the United States.

Moreover, the Soviets are making a massive research and development effort to improve their detection capability of our nuclear submarines. This is especially disturbing because the chief means of defense of the Polaris force is its ability to remain hidden under the seas. If they can be detected they will have lost much of their protective value.

Threat to U.S. Attack Carrier Forces

I should add that the Soviet Navy's general purpose forces are no longer just for coastal defense. They now operate on a continuing basis in the Mediterranean, in the Indian Ocean and periodically in the Caribbean. With these forces built around attack and cruise-missile submarines, surface ships armed with ship-to-ship missiles, and land-based naval bombers, Moscow has a formidable capacity to attack our carrier forces and disrupt our sea lines of communication — and this Soviet capacity continues to grow.

Vigorous Soviet R & D Effort

Finally, some facts about the Soviet research and development program need attention.

The massive Soviet R & D effort on offensive and defensive nuclear systems has continued to increase for the past several years. The number of offensive missile test-firings has likewise increased substantially. In the last twelve months, the Soviets have conducted extensive tests of various new ABM components, including advanced improved ABM radars.

This huge research and development program, carried out by a country with a gross national product only half our own, gives some sense of the dynamism and direction of the Soviet military effort.

The central fact is that the Soviet Union has continued to support, at great cost, a comprehensive, forward-moving program of strategic and conventional weapons procurement that is not slowing down. On the contrary, the hopes of those who predicted the Soviet build-up was tapering off have been bitterly disappointed — several times.

A Bolder Soviet Union

The Administration has made the claim that we are leaving an "era of confrontation" and entering an "era of negotiation."

I see scant evidence to support such a sunny forecast concerning our relations with Moscow. The massive Soviet weapons build-up does not suggest to me that with greater strength they will be more wary of confrontations.

It does suggest to me that they will be better equipped to pursue the tactics they have employed ever since World War II — confrontation and negotiation together as partners in advancing their interests. Indeed, to the Kremlin, confrontation tactics are "bargaining" as much as formal talk can be, and the Soviets are experts at deeds and displays to influence the outcome of a negotiation.

Even before the improvement in its relative power position, Soviet leaders periodically pressed a policy of "opportunistic expansion." I have likened the Soviet Union in its foreign relations to a burglar walking down a hotel corridor, trying the doorhandles. When he finds one unlocked — in he goes.

In past Soviet probings the strategic equation has set limits to the extent of the risks that Moscow was willing to run. Khrushchev's backdown in the 1962 Cuban missile adventure is a classic case in point.

Now, however, the Kremlin can be confident of overall nuclear equality with the United States — and it is ahead of us in some nuclear weapons area — and it can count on a growing capacity to project naval forces and other elements of its military power into many parts of the world.

In this situation, we would be prudent to assume that the Soviet leadership will be more vigorous in the assertion of what it regards as Soviet interests, and will ac-

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cept greater risks in order to advance them, thus introducing harder Soviet bargaining at the conference table and new elements of danger and turbulence into international affairs.

Leonard Schapiro, one of Great Britain's most respected Soviet scholars, puts the matter this way: "... the Soviet Union derives increasing confidence from the sheer quantity and size of the weapons which it possesses ... as the numbers and strength of Soviet weapons of all kinds, nuclear and non-nuclear as well, increase, so one should expect them to become bolder in their policy and more prepared to take risks."

One would look for such increased Soviet boldness especially in those areas that are without formal defensive ties with the United States, for it is in such areas that the Soviets would be tempted to conclude that the risk of a direct confrontation (perhaps escalating to the nuclear level) is not great. However, in trouble spots like the Middle East, where the Soviets have already invested vast sums of military and economic aid, supplied sophisticated weapons, sent military personnel and taken losses in combat, local instabilities are vastly aggravated with a considerable risk of great power confrontation.

The motto of the Kremlin today is very likely: "No more Cubas." The Soviets may relish the prospect that in future crisis encounters, *we*, and not *they*, will back down and accept diplomatic defeat.

A foretaste of the future could be the brazen and contemptuous Soviet violation of the American initiated stand-still agreement in the Mideast, in the summer of 1970, a violation executed from the very day of the agreement's signature, and encouraged, I might add, by the agitated efforts of some high Washington officials to turn their backs.

Professor Robert Byrnes recently made this pertinent comment: "I would assume that some Americans will find the Russians more reasonable as they become more powerful. There is no reason they should, but this will be their interpretation. You know, this happened in the 1930s. The more powerful and threatening Hitler became, the more rational many British leaders in particular found him to be."

Looking ahead, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that our interests and those of our friends and allies would suffer in a strategic environment in which the American power position was widely questioned, even though the Soviet Union may not have achieved a clear preponderance. We could expect Soviet intransigence in negotiations, and efforts at blackmail and intimidation across a broad range of foreign policy issues, with a consequent rise in the incidence of dangerous situations. Moreover, the element of uncertainty in crisis encounters could become much more severe.

Beyond that, if present trends in the strategic balance continue, we could find ourselves in a situation that encouraged Soviet brinkmanship with a resulting risk of accident, miscalculation and nuclear war.

Soviet Strategic Aims and SALT

For nearly a year and a half now we and the Soviets have been meeting in Vienna and Helsinki to discuss the limitation of strategic arms. This seems a long time to a world impatient for signs of progress. But eighteen months is less than a third of the time it took to negotiate the test-ban treaty. Nothing in the arms control area comes quickly or easily. Such success as we have had in past arms control negotiations has been the product of care, deliberation, and, above all unremitting patience.

It is one of the sad ironies of negotiations such as these that efforts to hasten them may have the effect of encouraging delay and inflexibility on the other side. Thus the more anxious we appear to buy an agreement, the higher the asking price. Unfortunately, the U.S.-Soviet strategic balance, which made the SALT talks possible, is increasingly threatened by the developing Soviet capability to attack and destroy our deterrent.

We must not be intimidated by our own impatience, either to embark upon new strategic programs prematurely or to accept an unsound early agreement in the idle hope that it will lead eventually to a genuinely stabilizing one.

The Soviet Union has proposed that we limit defensive weapons only. Under this proposal the United States would be prohibited from defending its Minuteman missiles with the Safeguard, or any other, ABM system. This proposal comes at a time when the Soviets are deploying new offensive weapons capable of attacking our Minuteman missiles — the very heart of our strategic deterrent. And they press this proposal while refusing to agree to limit their offensive build-up — and in spite of the fact that our defensive weapons add nothing to our capacity to launch a disarming first strike against them.

The simple fact is that we do not have the capability of launching a disarming first strike against the Soviet Union. We are not engaged in programs that could develop that capability. We have deliberately deployed a strategic missile force, land and sea based, with extremely low-yield warheads — warheads that are wholly inadequate for the purpose of attacking Russian missile silos. We know this. And the Soviets know this too.

By contrast, however, the Soviets are deploying weapons with characteristics that can be adapted to the purpose of attacking our Minuteman silos. Their SS-9 missiles can carry several warheads, each of sufficient yield to destroy a U.S. silo. All that is needed for them to develop the capability to destroy Minuteman is an accurate MIRV device — something well within Soviet technological capabilities.

It is for this reason that I view as unacceptable and even ominous the Soviet demand for an agreement (1) preventing the defense of our deterrent but (2) permitting them to continue deploying offensive missiles. It is unacceptable because it would diminish our security, and ominous because if the Soviet Union is truly committed to a policy of deterrence only, they should welcome our interest in limiting offenses and treat with indifference our investment to defend our deterrent. What possible justification is there for the Soviets to delay further the negotiation of serious limitations of offensive weapons?

It is remarkable to me that in the face of Soviet refusal to limit its offensive missile force — a position that must raise doubts about their intentions — some Americans are arguing that we should assume their good will and move to limit our defenses. How would an agreement on our part to leave our deterrent unprotected increase the Soviets' interest in doing later what they are evidently unprepared to do now: halt their offensive build-up?

An agreement limited to defense only, far from slowing the arms race, would actually accelerate it. To believe otherwise requires one to place his faith in nothing more tangible than a dream of Soviet self-restraint.

The Soviets would be free to forge ahead with deployment of more offensive weapons while we would be prevented from countering with a defense. Under such circumstances, should they press their advantage — and I see no logical reason why they would not — we would be forced to deploy new offensive systems of our own to balance theirs. Those are the elements of an expanding arms competition which we should be bending every effort to avoid rather than create.

I believe that those urging acceptance of the Soviet proposal have things exactly backwards. If two armies, each armed with swords and shields wish to disarm, does it make sense to lay down the shields and keep the swords? Would it not serve the peace and security of both to lay down their swords — and keep the shields to discourage rearmament?

It has been suggested recently that we ought to accept the Soviet proposal on the understanding that we and they would continue thereafter to negotiate limits on offensive forces. In other words, we must first give up our ABM system in return for which the Russians would agree merely to more talk about their offensive deployments. Some bargain! While they develop their offensive advantage, we both agree to talk about it.

SALT: A New Initiative

The arms race must be brought under control at the SALT talks. We need to buy more time for SALT to succeed. Without time — without a pause in the offense momentum — our best efforts to negotiate a comprehensive agreement may be overtaken by the pace of events.

I believe we ought to consider a partial, interim agreement with the U.S.S.R. that would at once have the effect of slowing the strategic arms competition and adding to the immediate security of the strategic balance.

I have in mind an interim agreement that would freeze the deployment of additional land-based offensive weapons in both the United States and Soviet Union — and it would do so at once. Specifically, I have proposed a mutual U.S.-Soviet agreement for an initial period of one year providing the following:

(1) The United States would immediately halt the deployment of Minuteman III missiles with their MIRV warheads.

(2) The Soviet Union would immediately halt the deployment of new ICBM launchers and missiles including those now under construction.

(3) Both countries would retain the freedom to assure the survivability of their strategic land-based forces so long

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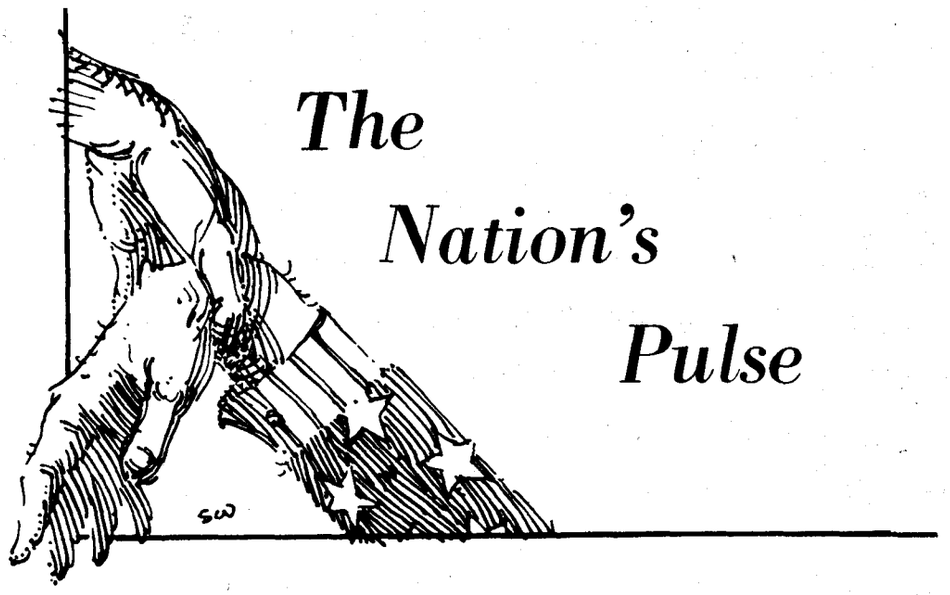

The Nation's Pulse

The Most Liberated Women of All Speaks on Defense

Liam Hanratty

WASHINGTON —"A monstrous impertinence," said one ladylibber. "Treason," said another. "A transvaluation of all values," remarked yet another of philsophical mien.

They, like most other residents of the Federal City (the rest of you don't know about it yet, because the press doesn't think such things newsworthy), could hardly believe the news. Even three-term senators, most of whom can detect a political slider long before it's thrown, were caught with their bats on their shoulders. "Well, I'll be damned," is about the best that one of them could manage.

To spare you further suspense, I shall inform you that the occasion for all this wonderment was a speech made on the floor of the Senate on 15 September. It began as follows: "Mr. President, I am supporting the 1972 defense authorization bill, now before the Senate, with mixed feelings. Let me first say that I consider that it has lowered our national defense and national security to a dangerous level. It is the latest step in the steady, uninterrupted trend toward making the United States a second-rate power incapable of assuring the future security of its people."

Who is speaking? Jim Buckley? Strom Thurmond? Peter Dominick? Carl Curtis? Harry Byrd?

Guess again. For there is joy along the banks of Chemquasabamticook, and, Ed Muskie to the contrary notwithstanding, it would appear that that good, old-fashioned, proud Down-East independence still thrives in the Senate. The speaker, of course, was none other than the redoubtable Margaret Chase Smith, the most truly liberated lady now — perhaps ever — in American public life. No warhawk she, by any means. For one thing, she has never liked the ABM and has said so by voice and vote on a number of occasions. Call her hawk or dove if you will, she knows when the nest is in danger, and as ranking Republican on the Armed Services Committee she knows whereof she speaks. Listen to her:

"In this time of disillusionment with internation responsibilities and in intense concern with pressing domestic needs...it is obviously difficult to achieve the desperately needed public understanding and consequent support of the American people for an adequate national defense and national security."

"The only way to overcome this difficulty is to get the facts to the American people and to bring home to them the clear consequences of second-rate military status."

"Military weakness and national insecurity literally invite diplomatic blackmail and the strategy of terror from the Soviet Union. Military weakness and national insecurity increase the chances of overconfidence and miscalculation by the enemy to trigger war."

"There is a desperate need to remind the American people of the continuous external pressures exerted against our nation and people. There is a desperate need to remind the American people that the road to peace has never been through appeasement, unilateral disarmament, negotiation from weakness, or scaling down to parity to prove sincerity."

Finally, an ominous closing note:

"The day of reckoning is approaching. Let us pray that recognition and action on the frightful truth comes sufficiently in advance to bolster our national security to such strength as to save our Nation and people."

Now, for those of you who know little about the Senate and even less about the lady from Maine, it must be pointed out that July 4th rhetorical overkill is hardly Mrs. Smith's style. If anything, she is best known for her understatement; indeed, some of her greatest triumphs were brought off precisely because of her mastery of taciturnity. And as seasoned Capitol Hill observers can tell you, she is one of the few members of the Senate who can wither an overly zealous and inquisitive reporter with a mere glance.

Thus, when phrases like "desperate need" occur half-a-dozen times in a ten-minute speech; when the U. S. military posture is described as being at a "dangerous level" and fast becoming "second-rate"; when the warning is issued that we shall soon have to face a "day of reckoning" and that the American people ought to be informed about the "frightful truth;" when the peroration opens with the phrase "Let us pray;" and when you consider that the speaker is Senator Margaret Chase Smith, then, ladies and gentlemen, we do indeed have a national defense crisis.

But whether the American people will ever find out is quite another matter. To no one's great surprise, Mrs. Smith's speech was ignored by the press. And the silence of the American press will not go unremarked in the Soviet Union. □

Praise the Lord and Pass the Sewage, Please

Eco-Frek, pollution and waste
Recycle that garbage and serve to taste

Don't say "goodbye" to sludge and slime
Just say farewell till suppertime

Eco-Freko, dreck and dross
Mankind's gain is housefly's loss

Cesspools, dumps and septic tanks
All deserve a vote of thanks

Eco-Freko, crud and slush
For the sake of starving Belgians, flush!

What we think is flushed away
Will be tomorrow's prime filet

Come you Eco-Frek crusaders!
Mount your Udalls! Cock your Naders!

Pass the questions troubling some:
Do scums make man, or men make scum?

Can we make dollars and not make sense?
Can we afford our effluence?

No more phosphates, glass or tins
Paper, autos, leopard skins

War, sin, crime are not the issue
Stamp out colored toilet tissue

Pesticides, aluminum,
Come you green crusaders, COME!

Eco-Freko, sun and sky
Kiss the modern world goodbye

When the grass comes out to play
The Eco-State will wither away.

—TeeWee

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JACKSON

(continued from page 18)

as they did not add to their offensive potential.

(4) Neither side would deploy a population defending ABM.

Such a program would greatly increase the security of our strategic forces. Moreover, it should calm any possible Soviet concern that we might be increasing the offensive potential of our forces so as to threaten the security of *their* deterrent. I would hope, therefore, that such a proposal would be vigorously pressed at the SALT talks.

It seems to me that the risks involved in proposing such an interim agreement for an initial period of one year are minimal. The advantage of halting the deployment of Soviet offensive weapons would be real, immediate, and stabilizing. It would diminish the pressure that we are now under to press ahead with new offensive nuclear systems of our own. It would genuinely add to the security of both countries.

By permitting us to deploy defenses to protect our Minuteman silos we would be able to counter any likely qualitative upgrading of the current Soviet offensive forces. And we could do this without in any way adding to our capacity to strike the Soviet deterrent.

By preventing the deployment of ABM systems for the purpose of defending populated areas — thick city defenses — we would diminish the necessity for deploying MIRVs on our Minuteman force. At the same time we could continue to deploy the very much smaller warheads of the MIRVed Poseidon missile on our Polaris submarines so as to increase the effectiveness of our sea-based deterrent.

Morevoer, the discussion surrounding this proposal may help to illuminate the nature of Soviet strategic objectives. In spite of the obvious importance of having such knowledge, we really know very little about Soviet strategic doctrine. My own view is that we will not emerge from the SALT talks with a very comprehensive agreement unless we and the Soviets succeed in arriving at some common understanding as to the nature and objectives of strategic nuclear forces.

One final word: The United States is experiencing a wave of hostility to the military at the moment, a hostility that makes fair and objective discussion of defense issues a difficult thing to achieve. From the belief that we have been doing too little to solve our domestic problems — a view that I share with many in this country — it is all too easy to pass to a belief that what we spend on defense is wasted.

The strategic budget is a small fraction of the defense budget and an even smaller fraction of our gross national product. About one percent of the goods and services we will produce this year is allocated to the procurement, maintenance and operation of our strategic deterrent.

That one percent is an essential investment. To fail in the job of strategic defense is to fail in all our aspirations for better housing, health, welfare, education and the environment. I believe that this country is rich enough in moral and material resources to provide for the security of our people and resolve our domestic problems as well. □

Military Trends: Implications for U.S. Security

by William R. Kintner and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.
American Enterprise Institute, $3.00

Soviet Military Power
by John Erickson
Royal United Service Institute, $3.00

Since the unmistakable details of the broad-based Soviet military buildup since 1968 emerged, there has been an increasing number of books, monographs, and articles by professional and academic defense specialists examining the character of Soviet efforts. The studies often produced ambiguous conclusions because the public data could be interpreted in several ways as late as 1969. Since that time, the conclusions of virtually every competent defense analyst has been that the Soviet obsession with defense is singular; and that the Soviet buildup has far exceeded the requirements of any plausible defense objective that had heretofore been attributed to the Soviets.

Two recent studies — without question, among the best yet available — specify the trends in Soviet military power, and assess its implications. Kitner and Pfaltzgraff, both of the Foreign Policy Research Institute of the University of Pennsylvania have set forth in compact fashion, the dimensions of Soviet military growth. When one digests the disparate information concerning the vast scope of the Soviet military buildup, it is clear that the whole of the separate elements is greater than the sum of its parts. With the exception of a few categories of military strength, there is an unambiguous Soviet quantitative advantage over the United States. There are, of course, ongoing debates within the defense community as to where the net qualitative advantage for this or that weapon system lies. When one attempts to make some sort of aggregated calculation however, as to how the United States might fare in a military confrontation in an area of mutual vital interest, it is an extremely difficult task to formulate a theory of how the United States can support its foreign policy objectives by military force in such a crisis. Kintner and Pfaltzgraff make a useful contribution to the analysis of the Soviet military buildup by suggesting three alternative hypotheses of Soviet intent: strategies of "opportunity," "caution," and "condominium." Only the "strategy of condominium" would be likely to lead to reduced tensions and a lower probability of political or military confrontation. If the Soviets were to employ this strategy, they would seek local rather than global objectives, and would prefer a partner relationship with the United States rather than an adversary relationship. The "strategy of caution" implies that the Soviets would attempt to replace U.S. influence short of means likely to lead to confrontation. The author's assessment of Soviet capabilities and behavior lead them to the grim conclusion that:

"The Soviet Union has begun to follow the strategy of opportunity increasingly, particularly in the Middle East and the Indian Ocean areas. Although the strategy of caution is currently being employed in Europe, the Far East, and Latin America, we can anticipate trends toward opportunity in these regions also. Although we have posited condominium as a logical alternative to Soviet expansionism, it is unlikely that the Soviets are committed to this choice other than as a transitory tactic." Enough said.

Professor John Erickson has produced a scholarly work of the first rank that proves to be a useful complement to the Kintner-Pfaltzgraff study. While that latter study hypothesizes trends in and the implications of Soviet military buildup, Erickson examines the Soviet buildup to deduce the character of Soviet strategy with regard to the evidence we have about Soviet force deployments and strategic doctrine.

Contrary to the yearly reiterated theory that Secretary McNamara advanced in his annual defense *Posture Statement** to the effect that every U.S. attempt to capture the strategic advantage would only be matched by a Soviet build-up to achieve "parity," Soviet military thinking follows a much different line of reasoning. Erickson suggests in effect, that the model which best describes Soviet military behavior is that they do "the best they can." Their best effort in 1950 consisted of a massive conventional force to threaten Europe, while relying on political warfare to attenuate any political advantages which the U.S. might seek to employ stemming from its nuclear arsenal. Their best effort in 1971 is considerably more formidable.

In the past few years, the Soviet economy has become sufficiently large to support a defense establishment roughly equal in size to our own. The Soviets have tended to concentrate their efforts in a few well-known areas to the U.S. disadvantage—strategic nuclear forces and naval forces.

The work of Erickson and Kintner-Pfaltzgraff significantly improve our understanding of the importance of

*And reported in such works as A. Chayes and J. Weisner, *ABM: An Evaluation of the Decision to Deploy an Anti Ballistic Missle System*, (New York, Harper and Row, 1969).

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recent developments in Soviet defense policy. What is now needed is a thorough analysis of Soviet bargaining strategy dealing with arms control negotiations so that we may be better prepared to understand the manner in which the Soviets are conducting themselves at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks.

For a decade or so we were ill-informed by various officials in the national security apparatus who allowed their beliefs to refract their judgments about Soviet strategic force deployments. We cannot allow a similar process to decide our attitudes on Soviet arms control. We do not have the time.

William Schneider, Jr.

William Schneider, Jr. is on the staff of the Hudson Institute and an advisor to Senator James Buckley, the pride of Old New York.

Deceitful Peace: A New Look at the Soviet Threat

by Gerhart Niemeyer
Arlington House, $6.95

Between Nothingness and Paradise

by Gerhart Niemeyer
Louisiana State University Press, $8.95

The Cold War seems to have passed into the hands of the historian. The politician and political scientist are now concerned with detente, relaxation of tensions, disarmament, and in general, reordering our national priorities from a foreign war that is over to a domestic war on social problems.

The last chapter of the Cold War is supposed to have been written because communism has been perceived to have lost its militant urge to conquer the world. Sometimes it is admitted that communism is not as peaceloving as we would like, but that being patient and willing to prove our good intentions, the suspicious masters in the Kremlin, Peiping, and elsewhere will see that they too can afford to relax tensions and reduce their arms budgets. Sometimes this latter line of reasoning is applied retroactively to support the conclusion that if the United States had not built up so many alliances all over the world, Stalin's suspicions would never have been aroused. The United States is then seen to be the cause of the Cold War since we supposedly overreacted to a system which was not actually our enemy. The Communists' ideology is supposed to be a mere cover for power — and that's the way we are too, right?

Whether it be argued that communism has changed, or that the United States is finally taking the appropriate measures to allow Communists to get along with other nations, the argument stands or falls on both the historical record and on the nature of communism. Gerhart Niemeyer, Professor of government at Notre Dame has provided a needed analysis of these questions in his two latest books.

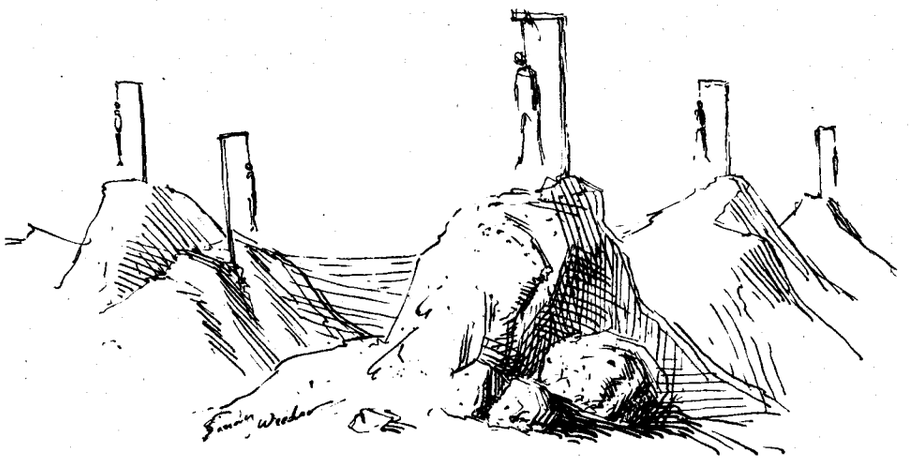
To grasp the nature of communism, one of course usually begins with Marx. Niemeyer places Marx in the camp of those who, because they are motivated by a profound alienation from the world, fashion a total critique of society. The total critique of society is in turn used as a call for total, or permanent, revolution. Such a critique goes a lot deeper than a mere complaint about particular wrongs in society. Rather than a simple reformism, this critique calls for salvation through the liberating experience of smashing everything.

In *Between Nothingness and Paradise* Niemeyer finds that Marx welded two previously developed total critiques of society. The one critique (axiological) sees all of history as alien to the true order of reality and human nature. Human experience, both past and present, is seen as unreal. There is a gnostic aspect of this critique — a secret knowledge is said to be available to the thinker-as-messenger. By making known his secret knowledge, the thinker will cause the present unreality to collapse, releasing the redemption available only through participating in the true reality. Other than a sort of magical leap in being to the true order, this critique is otherwise short on prescriptions for action.

The second total critique of society (teleological) that found its way into Marx's thought sees history as a concatonation of stages toward an ultimate end. Although there is no logical reason for doing so, this critique posits the final "goal" stage as the only time when man will live in a true reality. History once again is seen as alienation. The particular seductiveness of this critique is the pretension of positive knowledge of the future. Since all value is seen to lie in the future, knowledge of that places one beyond the limits of present moral judgments or historical imitations. This critique can only accidentally provide a picture of the inevitable Goal.

The teleological critique claims to reduce man to an objectively known product of the meaningless flux of things. The axiological critique tends to overlook any consideration of the historical and to see man only in terms of a "true" nature, of sheer desirability in a "possible reality." Marx combined the advantages of both in an attempt to eliminate their deficiencies. In either case, the total critiques: "have assumed an Archimedian point beyond the realm of experience from which the world of experience can be surveyed, criticized and even declared a nothingness. The Archimedian point, in turn, a realm of phantasmal perfection, appears as paradise when viewed from the point of view of actual nothingness. A polarity between nothingness and paradise is characteristic of every ideological total critique of society, which always extends to a critique of all experienced reality."

The ideologist of a second reality (the true one as opposed to the unreal) has committed himself by definition to a destruction of the present reality. What a far cry from Augustine's total critique of society which was based on the Biblical doctrine of the corruption of the human soul. Society, in the Augustinian view, is not seen as the enemy, since it is but a product of the flawed constituent. Evil is seen as man's problem here and now to be faced rather than hidden by resort to the use of a future possible reality. Salvation is God's work, not man's. Augustine's view permits a choice outside of the phony dichotomy of a complete acceptance of the status quo or its total destruction.



East European Landscape

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In Lenin we see Marx put into practice. The Communist Party is that gnostic group which possesses the secret knowledge of the future reality. Since only the Party is working for the supreme good, then whatever means the party chooses in order to advance history toward that end are immediately justified. Reformism (as opposed to compromises of necessity) implies an acceptance of the present reality. Only a commitment to the overthrow of the present is permissible for those initiates of the secret knowledge. Only in this way can one exist.

Lenin viewed the dictatorship of the proletariat as an organization of war. In any war there may be truces which allow for regroupment and resupply; the goal of war, of overcoming the enemy's resistance, remains. The war applies to the Party's attitude to foreign governments as well as fellow countrymen who do not adhere to the Party's premises.

The only zone not in a state of war is within the Party. It is a zone open to entry for only those who recognize that the one single possible system of order is the future reality. Anyone who is willing to make peace with any or all of the present is automatically at war within the Party. The road to the future is seen, as in the past, a succession of stages called "transitions to socialism" by the Party. Since the future stays ever out of reach, more "transitions" are added in order to justify why the revolution remains permanent.

As Niemeyer points out in *Deceitful Peace*, even the West has tended to accept the Party's claim to represent the Revolution, and to view the Revolution as inevitable. The expansion of Communist control in the last fifty years, as well as the leverage secured through allies in strategic areas of Africa, the Middle East and Latin America have not provided any reason for the true believer to doubt his faith.

Many have argued that Communists have not followed the letter of Marx's historical materialism, and have concluded that Communists are either losing their faith, or have never really had a faith, but have only used their ideology as an instrument of social control. Niemeyer argues that while it is true that Communists have abandoned elements of their ideology, the crucial question is which elements.

As long as the doctrine of the revolutionary overthrow of the present-day society has not been touched, the central core remains intact, and no substantive change has occurred. Truces and retreats the Party has made, but whenever in doubt the Party has consistently chosen "that alternative which favored irreconcilable struggle and its power requirements." Why else would Communists maintain their unity and discipline were it not for "a common cause and a common principle in which they believe?" (p. 149)

That the Communists would prefer even death as the outcome of false confessions to trumped-up charges to risking the security of the party's rule is a matter of record. For examples see Robert Conquests' *The Great Terror*, and Anatoli Granovsky's *I Was a NKVD Agent*.

Although Communists are committed to permanent revolution, the announcement of a policy of "peaceful coexistence" has been interpreted by some to represent a change of heart, a willingness to live and let live. No doubt this phrase has been seized upon more often than any other single phrase to "prove" that communism is mellowing.

Aside from the historical record to the contrary, we have Khrushchev's explanation of the phrase as reported in 1958 by Walter Lippmann. According to Lippmann, Khrushchev understands the status quo to mean the permanent revolution (overt or covert wars of aggression); aggression is understood to mean Western resistance to the "status quo."

The West has been gullible in face of the Red peace offensive. Niemeyer ascribes the ideology of enduring peace (e.g., One World, the United Nations, etc.) and the notion of "no enemies to the left" as reasons for this blindness. The Soviet peaceful coexistence line has achieved additional credence in the West from the Sino-Soviet split. The Chinese verbal assault on the Kremlin line of peaceful coexistence is taken as evidence of Kremlin sincerity. Instead, Niemeyer argues, the real split involves two communist power centers disagreeing only on whose interpretation of Marxism-Leninism authoritatively prescribes the destruction of limited government and free enterprise.

Niemeyer's analysis of communism casts considerable doubt on the hopes of those who expect to deal with Communists as if they were just another group of politicians. The reader of Niemeyer's latest two books could best express his conclusion of the author's message in the words of Patrick Henry's famous "give me liberty, or give me death" speech. "Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying that for the last ten years. Have we anything new to offer upon the subject?... Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive ourselves longer. Sir, we have done everything that could be done to avert the storm which is coming on...Gentlemen may cry peace, peace, but there is no peace. The war is actually begun." (Moses Coit Tyler, *Patrick Henry*, Arlington House, pp. 142-145)

If Henry's electrifying speech rang true to the American colonists opposed to a British over-lordship, then his words are all the more urgent in the face of a militant totalitarian ideology.

Lawrence D. Pratt

Lawrence D. Pratt is a practicing ontologist and encounter group mullah of the Moon Mullins Study Group. He is also Midwest Director of Intercollegiate Studies Institute and co-host, with R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr., of In Our Time, *a talk show to be aired on WTTV-TV (Indianapolis) beginning in December.*

Movies

Pass the Syringe, Baby (and Never Pass Go)

Didacticism in the cinema is a bore, usually. Generally the congruence of art, or what passes for art in most films, and moral instruction, or what resembles that, is awkward. People read all sorts of lessons into films, and we are informed by some critics that we have been told the Very Truth about the redneck mentality *(EASY RIDER)*, or the Indisputable Message about hardhats *(JOE)*, or of the necessity to curb the military *(PATTON)*, or about the perfidy of today's *fascisti (Z)*, and on and on and on.

If one prefers to criticize films from the point of view of an apolitical, rather demanding film lover, as I generally do, one gets it in the neck from those who must divine political meanings in every flick; or, as sometimes happens, if one finds oneself confronted with an overdose of manifest propaganda in a movie and writes about it from that angle, one's arty buddies drip condescending scorn. So one loses anyway; *tant pis*.

A new film has just hit the theatres, one so significant as didactic cinema in the best sense, that I draw it to your attention. *THE PANIC IN NEEDLE PARK* is directed by Jerry Schatzberg, whose last film was *PUZZLE OF A DOWNFALL CHILD*, and screenwritten by John Gregory Dunne and his wife, Joan Didion, the novelist and former *Nation Review* contributor, from the book by James Mills. It is photographed by Adam Hollander, whose camera sees the real Needle Park of New York's West 70s, the cheap hotels, luncheonettes, garbage-strewn alleys and tawdry pads of the city. The tendency of many reviewers, faced now with a surfeit of perfectly dreadful movies designed for the youth audience and with a simultaneous spate of films (like *LOVE STORY* and *SUMMER OF '42*) turning away from Message to Romance (heralded by *Time* and other journals as the Coming Thing), will be to ignore *PANIC*. At our peril, I would suggest. Especially at the peril of those of us on the right, who are so rarely fed anything intelligent about drugs in our journals. Of late, only Suzanne Labin's superb piece on hashish in *National Review* (13 July) is an exception to that general rule.

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Even Mme. Labin's excellent "Goa: End of the Line," which I believe to be accurate for a portion of the drug cult, will, I fear, be seen as the last word, the end-all and be-all, by some of our friends, who then will rest comfortably, "knowing" that even marijuana is the devil's invention, so let's ban it all!

With considerable skill, *THE PANIC IN NEEDLE PARK* describes, in the form of an "entertainment" (disquieting entertainment, to be sure), the life of young people caught up in the pursuit and use of heroin, espcially in the frequent periods of "panic" or drug shortage. It does this job without moralistic over-kill and without the documentary-style pomposity from which we tend these days to run in terror. I entered the theatre one afternoon, sat for 100 minutes with —I'd guess — fifty or sixty people, sat with them in rapt silence and went away shaken, moved by a chilling experience, one true to the facts as I have come to know them. As a movie *qua* movie, irrespective of theme, it is merely good, or perhaps very good; as a session of instruction about what is rapidly becoming a major disaster of our time, *PANIC* is unquestionably superior beyond what I had come even to hope for.

Bobby, played by Al Pacino with charm and grace and virility and a just-right mix of cockiness and pathos, is a New Yorker who ties in with Helen, an ordinary mid-western runaway, acted winningly by Kitty Winn. Neither of these young actors has been in movies before, yet each is magnificent in his and her role. Both resemble how many people I know, how many *you* know? Both more than resemble,they *create* hordes of their contemporaries in large cities across the land— no doubt in small towns too. Mr. Pacine and Miss Winn are supported by Richard Bright, as Bobby's brother, a rotter, a user of people, and by assorted minor characters whose names I don't remember but whose faces I'll long recall.

We know a great deal about heroin, and we also don't know some things. We know that it has long been used by the subculture (the "ghetto' denizens) but has in recent years come to be used by many others, including hundreds of thousands of kids, and a frightening number of GIs in Vietnam and elsewhere. We know, despite Mr. Nixon's agreement to destroy much of next year's crop with the government of Turkey, where a lot of the world's supply is grown, that there is a huge quantity of heroin floating about the globe, a considerable amount entering the United States each year and finding its way, with a little help from their "friends," to young people and adults. We know that it is addictive. This cannot be stressed too much; that is, heroin use in not just psychologically addictive, as alcohol and some other drugs can be, but physiologically addictive as well, which means a mere act of will is insufficient to get off it once one has become a frequent user. We know that a disproportionate number of today's crimes against persons and property has come to be committed by people seeking money to feed their ever-increasingly expensive addiction. We know that heroin is possessed of no "socially redeeming" value, no "mind-expanding" properties, no worth except insofar as it induces a brief period of feeling good, after which occurs the coming down, the crash, and the immediate craving for more.

We do not know if real heroin addiction is actually curable. The

Congratulations to Mr. Ed Chronister of Poplar Bluff, Mo., who has only one good eye, and who, according to the local gazette, caught a record-breaking, ninety-four pound flathead catfish in the St. Francis River, one mile below Wappapello Dam. The fish too had only one good eye. Now what do you think about that?

much-vaunted, very cheap methodone treatment, which substitutes for the now-expensive heroin, merely displaces the debilitating need; it does not end it. Many specialists maintain that true cures, real, permanent giving up of heroin and methodone without the transference of addiction to some other drug, are rare, so rare, in fact, that some people knowledgeable in the field refuse to recognize the existence of even one genuine return to non-addictive life. By all standards of reasonable investigation, the state of our knowledge about the possibility of ever escaping the nightmare of heroin is primitive, if not downright non-existent.

This is the drug with which *PANIC IN NEEDLE PARK* deals, or rather, this is the drug whose victims the movie studies with compassion, hard-nosed reality, and intelligence. Though there are snippets in other films revealing people in agony because of heroin and medical documentaries showing how insidious its use is, nothing but *PANIC* is at present going to reach enough youngsters to give them the sort of serious pause that may, literally, save their lives. Not since *THE MAN WITH THE GOLDEN ARM* has the job been done so well in a movie, and *PANIC* is about today.

Briefly: Bobby, a heavy user, meets Helen, who comes to love him, and consequently to use and then addiction, as Bobby becomes hooked. They turn to crime (theft and prostitution) and inevitably to "ratting" — buying their freedom from long prison sentences by informing on their friends (in Helen's case, by informing on her lover, Bobby). There is no happy ending in the film, even though it finishes with Helen waiting for Bobby after his release from prison, a stay shortened, of course, by his having "ratted" on Mr. Big, the supplier. We do not, for one minute, believe that Bobby and Helen will not soon gravitate to heroin again. In fact, we have been given no reason to believe that during her time out of prison, Helen has not been shooting H. We do not see anything which would lead us to think Helen's once-expressed desire to escape the city, to move to the "country" (where is that today, with heroin everywhere?) and to "dry out," will ever be realized. The movie is not tragedy by classical standards — no one is noble and no one falls mightily from nobility to a terrible end; but it is contemporary tragedy, the story of valuable lives wasted, lost, in fact destroyed by a substance easily available to me down the block from my front door, and to you, probably just as near.

We cannot escape heroin, nor can we legislate it away by simply buying up the Turkish crop, thus ending its availability. We may regrettably have to acknowledge that those now hooked on H will have to be provided with it, or something substituting for it, for the rest of their days, which means we can only try to convince people not now using heroin to avoid it like poison. And this cannot be done effectively through the stupid recourse to unconvincing scare tactics by which so many of our fellows attempt to argue their case. It is laughable to read, and to be told by sanctimonious people who've never tried drugs other than alcohol, that marijuana leads automatically to LSD which leads automatically to heroin. Nonsense. Worse than nonsense, because it is just such jumbled up *post hoc ergo propter hoc* rhetoric that has, in today's parlance, turned off so many young people, turned them away from listening to those who preach against heroin. This is not a plug for other drugs, but rather a warning to those who would ignorantly agglutinate the use of grass and psychedelics to that of heroin and attempt to root out the latter by making unavilable the former. The one does not inevitably lead to the other.

But those predisposed to try anything, those willing to get their kicks anyway are likely to reach eventually for heroin. I think of a friend on Cape Cod where I summer, who now "snorts" (sniffs) cocaine, which gives him, he reports, a delicious high. He pops anything in his mouth that anybody hands him.

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"What are you on today?" I ask him. "Don't know; just something Bev gave me," he replies. And when to heroin? He "doesn't know" that either, though heroin can be snorted too, and from snorting to shooting is a short road. I have another friend who shot up once, recorded his reactions for his own satisfaction, rejected further doses of it and has never done it again. Once is not tantamount to addiction, but once is usually just the prelude to more, to much, to addiction.

And so what can we do about it? A strict libertarian argument, which I tried out on a local television program just for experience, has it that people should be able to go to hell in the wheelbarrows of their own choosing, and were heroin available legally, its cost could be minimal, and crimes of theft and violence now attendant upon heroin addiction would cease. And it is a nice, neat little argument, pure in the libertarian fashion, as are most libertarian arguments. But I cannot believe it, cannot accept its callousness toward others, even though I once enunciated it myself. If we keep firmly in mind the datum of the *loss of volition* — the inability once under heroin's sway to *will* oneself off it — we can see the insufficiency of the libertarian approach in this case.

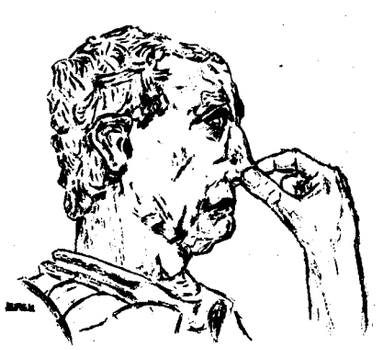
What heroin does is destroy, including the destruction of the capacity to think of much else but getting more heroin. Its use is not, as some of our simplistic fellows on the right would have us believe, a corollary to ultra-leftist politics. In point of fact, heroin use and acquisition become the major preoccupations of those involved with it. When a user is "up," he's very happy, and he may talk of (though rarely make) love, or dig music, or play a bit at politics. But when he's not up, he turns exclusively to the search for more H. Until he finds it, all other concerns are drained from him. And he will steal, brutalize, and even murder, to get it. This, I would urge, transcends any pristine libertarian ruminations about the Free Market. In a society of just men and women, do we not have an obligation to try, with everything which we can legitimately bring to bear on the discussion, to convince our fellow human beings to avoid heroin? I think we do. And I think that we can include among those legitimate means the strictest punishment of those selling that drug.

THE PANIC IN NEEDLE PARK does not say so in words, in pat, packaged homilies. It says so by presenting a remarkably well-done take of the worst environmental waste of all, the waste of human beings.

David Brudnoy

David Brudnoy is a cosmopolitan residing in Boston. He is a regular contributor to Ideas, National Review, New Guard *and* Counterpoint.

CORRESPONDENCE



To the Editor:

George Nathan's editorial "Telling Fat Woman They are Beautiful," was beautiful (I do not know if Mr. Nathan is fat) and probably inspired.

David E. Frost
Terre Haute, Ind.

To the Editor:

I just want to take this opporunity to tell you I think Coyne's review of Hemingway was the best I read anywhere.

Best of luck to you all. *The Alternative* is magnificent.

Gib Kaplan
New York, New York

To the Editor:

I did think you missed the point about Catch 22. You can't always analyze art through a Marxist lens. Try thinking of that movie as surrealistic and a lot of your remarks would seem beside the point. It is no more a liberal cliche that all officers in our armed forces are semi-fascist, etc. than it is a conservative cliche that they are all sweet, earnest, upstanding, good heroes. Is it?

World War II was as absurd as Catch 22 made it. That it had to be fought and that we were the good guys, made it no less so. When the McNamara papers came out, I was reminded of an incident on an Army Air base where I was in charge of the engineering drafting department. Imagine bundling up all the blue-prints of the top-secret (every one of them stamped that way, down to the gaskets) P-47, tossing them out the hangar window and looking down to find German prisoners of war picking them up. That's the army; that's surrealism.

We did some ghastly, unforgivable things in that war, and why you feel threatened by a movie that says so is a puzzle. The movie struck me as a very Western-civilization thing. You can't imagine the Maoists making it, or the Russians. Maybe the Japanese, though.

Mrs. A. N. Romm
The Times-Herald Record
Middletown, New York

ANNOUNCING

the formation of the Petr Ilich Tchaikovsky Society

The Saturday Evening Club hereby informs a heretofore unappreciative public of the formation of a society whose purpose, as revealed in our Constitution, will be "To encourage the dissemination and popularization of the music of Petr Ilich Tchaikovsky." Too long unknown, too long collecting the dust with which cruel History buries its premature offspring, this lonely and obscure Russian composer deserves the attention his genius demands, but which for more than seventy years has failed to elicit from a musical public so obsessed with the emotive dribble of Bruckner, Strauss and Mahler.

Toward that end, we have commissioned the writing of a definitive biographical study *(When Was The Last Time They Played the 1812?)*; we plan a thorough survey of his extant scores, editing and revising where his own marginal notations seem to warrant it; we play a complete cataloguing of his manuscripts, elevating the orchestration of his symphonies, for instance, from the provisional to the authorized; we plan to unearth previously unavailable or lost scores. In addition, we are planning both gala concerts and intimate musical evenings. We predict repeated performances of his work; we prophesy nothing less than what could be called an overwhelming Tchaikovsky revival had our misunderstood genius gained a proper hearing in the first place.

Our membership card will entitle you to all privileges listed in our Constitution, as well as to authorization to complain to the FCC when you feel the works of this master are being repressed. Morever, you will receive our monthly newsletter, *Petr Patter*, a lively collection of biographical tidbits, never before published photographs, and snippets from our standardized scores, suitable for whistling.

Furthermore, upon receipt of your check or money order, we will send you decals for your windows, stickers for your bumpers, bumpers for your stickers and buttons for your lapels — all decorated with appropriate inscriptions, a tantalizing list of which we here offer you:

The Pathétique is chic
I'm a Thai for Tchai
Get high on Tchai
Petr is sweetr
Don't pan Petr
Win with Gene Onegin
Shun La Mer and hoot it!
Swan Lake is unpolluted

Anothr Student for Petr.

Address all correspondence to The Saturday Evening Club, c/o The Establishment, R.R. 11, Box 360, Bloomington, Indiana 47401.

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The Bootblack Stand

Dr. George Washington Plunkitt, our prize-winning political analyst, has just completed a penetrating study of the last Congolese election. Published in August, it focuses on the unique position of minority groups in the Congolese electoral process; it can be purchased in all bookstores. It is titled *Escape! A New Demand Response System.* Now, the distinguished Dr. Plunkitt has agreed to, through this column, advise American statesmen in this time of troubles. Address all correspondence to The Bootblack Stand, The Establishment, R.R. 11, Box 360, Bloomington, Indiana 47401, Continental U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Plunkitt:

Last month a dreadful experience befell me as I attempted to kick off my presidential bid amongst the underprivileged. While answering questions from a group of colored people in California, I inadvertently gave an honest reply. How embarrassing! Perhaps I am simply not up to presidential caliber. Or maybe I am beginning to take too seriously those references to my rugged features as "Lincolnesque."

At any rate I was standing before this group and from the back row a gentleman of color asked if a ticket composed of me (a Pole) and a black man could win the Presidency. By replying that "in my judgment such a ticket was not electable in the present climate of political opinion," I set off an uproar. How can I repair the damage?

Very sincerely yours,
Senator Edmund Muskie

Dear Senator Muskie:

How can you ask me, an advisor to American statesmen, such a simple-minded question? Have you never read my book, *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall?* Are you unfamiliar with the history of the two-party system? Were you overcome with the jimjams? Are you a mooncalf? Surely you realize that no truly sincere politician ever answered a question honestly.

This is obviously an instance of slovenly staff work. Fire every bright boy in your office.

As to how you can repair the damage, I am not really sure. Any politician who tells the truth in public is bound to arouse the suspicions of the American electorate. Perhaps it would be shrewdest of you to tell the truth, yet again — you could make it your special gimmick. Explain to the nation what you really meant when you said a Negro could not get elected as your running mate, that is, the American people would never elect a Negro who ran on a ticket with a Pole.

—GWP

Dear Mr. Plunkitt:

Like why is it that everytime I try to go to church or something a bunch of Neo-McCarthyites claim I am associating with COMMUNISTS, you know? I mean that while on my recent fact finding tour of South Vietnam I was merely doing a little heavy rapping with a few antigovernment and antiwar idealists and the facist pigs tried to bust the place, you know what I mean? Real freaky. And the place was a church! What gets into people? Why do they always have to result to name calling and ad hominus arguments?

Yours for a better World,
Senator George McGovern

Dear Senator McGovern:

My, how good it is to hear from you! Mr. Hoover informed me of your recent trip to South Vietnam, and Mr. Helms even showed me a few pictures of you at that church meeting. Frankly I am not very certain why a church meeting full of antigovernment and antiwar forces in South Vietnam would have *any* Communist agents in it at all. You surely would not find any Communists at an antiwar or antigovernment meeting in *North* Vietnam, though a few police might drop in.

My guess is that the Chief of Saigon's Police is either antireligious or he had had a bad night at the baths. Maybe he takes the public statements you make in America more seriously than we do. Or perhaps he just wants to hurt your chances of becoming President of all the people. But do not fear, no one is going to hurt your chances now.

Next time you're in the neighborhood, stop by. My son wants to challenge you to a game of jacks. —GWP

CONTINUING CRISIS

(continued from page 2)

otherwise sat tight. Meanwhile New York's penal and governmental authorities scurried about trying to respond to what is called the worst prison disturbance in American history. Twenty-eight of the prisoners' demands were acquiesced to, citizens' negotiators Mr. William Kuntsler, Mr. Bobby Seale and Mr. Tom Wicker were allowed to talk with prisoners and to hold press conferences, and reinforcements were summoned while authorities waited ninety-six hours. One prison guard died, and three prisoners were murdered, apparently by their fellows. On 13 September authorities delivered an ultimatum, it was rejected and twenty-seven state troopers led by correctional guards attacked the 1000 prisoners. Twenty-nine hostages were saved, thirty-three prisoners perished, more escaped. The story was reported somewhat differently by the less biased national media. Afterwards the New York*Times* asked the rhetorical question, "Should Governor Rockefeller have talked with the enraged prisoners?" and mentioned that Mr. Kunstler, the Rt. Hon. Mr. Herman Badillo, a Mr. Arthur Eve and a Mr. John Dunne thought he should have.

•Little controversy stirred when the Indiana University Journalism Department's survey found that nearly twice as many editorial writers for daily newspapers claim to be Democrats as claim to be Republicans. From Blackburn, England came an international challenge by Mr. Harry Riding who defied anyone in the world to surpass him in eating hot mustard. While in New York, Mr. U. Thant said he would not run for another term as Secretary General.

•Welfare was in the news as Governors Rockefeller and Reagan criticized mismanagement of state and federal programs. In New York, where welfare recipients must now collect their checks in person, twenty per cent were too afflicted to claim their checks. Welfare reform was urged by the Nation's Governors, but not everyone agreed on what that meant.

•Mr. Nikita Krushchev, the Russian ex-politician, and Mr. Nathan F. Leopold, the ex-kidnapper passed away. Look magazine was terminally ill. And Fidel Castro, the Cuban reformer, ended the agreement with Amerika whereby 250,000 Cuban spies have been allowed to return to Amerika.

•The citadel of Roman Catholic scholarship in Hollywood, California, Immaculate Heart College, has hired Mr. Tom Hayden of the celebrated Chicago Seven to teach a political science course on Vietnam. He will also lecture on the protest movement. More good news comes from Yippie newlyweds, Abbie and Anita Hoffman, who have named their new child amerika. Justice Hugo L. Black announced his retirement on 17 September and died on the 24th. On the 23rd Justice Harlan retired.

And Saigon's Chief of Police asserted that the reason his constabulary had attacked the 14 September church meeting between anti-war and anti-government Vietnamese and Senator McGovern was that the gathering was aswarm with Viet Cong agents. Informed sources considered it a cheap shot at

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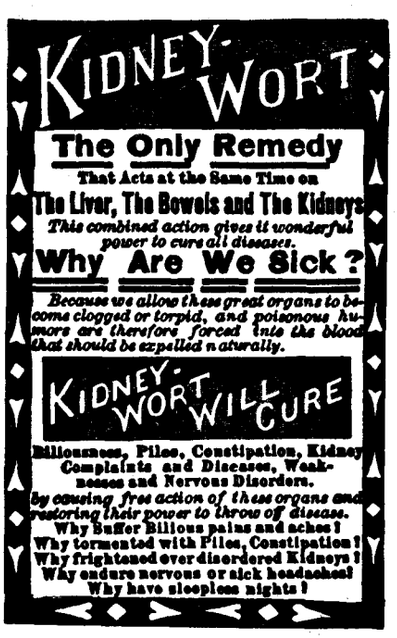
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Why tormented with Piles, Constipation?
Why frightened over disordered Kidneys?
Why endure nervous or sick headaches?
Why have sleepless nights?

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"Whom the gods destroy they first make mad." – Euripedes

What kind of person frolics in the mysteries of scholarly radicalism's most celebrated journal, The New York Review of Books? *Read these untouched masterpieces culled from a typical page of its classified advertisements and find out for yourself. Yahooism is being exported from Arkansas!*

Tall, gregarious male, 50ish, hip head, intellectual dilettante. Labially pungent. Seeks similar girlchild over 25. NYR Box 3766

Warm, cuddly, 35 year old divorced woman seeks gentle basically satisfied man with whom she can share books, music, food, occasional movies, and quiet evenings at home. Boston area. NYR, Box 3759

Chicago Teacher, 25, perpetual student, attractive, reasonably modest, seeks sensitive male who appreciates music, horror movies, gourmet cooking, etc. NYR, Box 3735

Attractive, alive woman writer, professor, very young 35, would like to share commitments, concerns, circuses, carousets, interests, passions, enthusiasms, with warm, intelligent, vital, creative, sensitive man. L.A. area. NYR Box 3736

Guy, 27, attractive, bohemian, iconoclastic, desires correspondence with female who is very intelligent, reflective, tolerant, liberated and unrefined. Box 9362; Berkeley, Calif. 94709

NYC writer, male, 50, seeks much younger companion for month's Dutch-treat European tour starting mid-October. NYR, Box 3692

Companionship desired. Semi-independent, sixtyish widow, Bay area, enjoys conversation, reading, hiking, nature. travel, music, with or without marriage. NYR, Box 3780

Folksinger-lawyer, Washington, D.C., 25, seeks honorably intentioned girl, 18-25, to take to movies. NYR Box 3842

Intelligent, sensitive, kind, attractive, occasionally witty newsman, 25, looking for woman, 20-30, prospective mate. NYR, Box 3717

Jewish husband wanted. Slightly published Midwestern woman, 32, wants to stop writing and become homemaker. NYR, Box 3742

Disabled intellectual male (34) experienced in social work and writing seeks relationship with woman. NYR, Box 3740

Man, 33, generally happily married, intense, irreverent, affectionate, lover of life, seeks to share being with sensitive, tender, alive female. Philadelphia or Washington. NYR, Box 3749

Witch-woman, intelligent, attractive, long-legged (5'11"), old-fashioned, highly romantic, but crazy with literary musical and philosophical penchants, age 25, seeks mature, sincere, witty, but not necessarily Rock Hudsonish, hopefully professorial man of varied intellectual interests, aged 30-60. Located Mid-west — will travel. NYR 3747

Intelligent woman, mid-30s, wants male counterpart (single, stable, zany). S.F. mid-peninsula. Photo. BA, Box 1294, Los Altos, California 94022.

Woman, early 50s, newly divorced after successful therapy, wishes to meet man of appropriate age with like experience to share interests in music, other arts, and travel. NYR, Box 3764

Chicagoan, 31, desires feminine companion to share non-alienated experiences, music, books, laughter. Prefer European. Write fully. Photo welcome. NYR, Box 3739

Extraordinary man, early 40s, Anglo-American background, wide interests, eclectic tastes, largess of humor, seeks extraordinary woman in San Francisco area who has gotten past image and identification and should like to explore fully the emotional, intellectual, physical, sexual and spiritual nature of being — while delighting in the moment. Not interested in money, matrimony, or a monogamous relationship. NYR Box 3771

Two innocent young men, moderately well educated, seek to accompany mature, wealthy female for foreign travel to further education. Testimonials available. Write Box 2652, Stanford, California, 93405.

FRANK STANTON

CBS's Frank Stanton, the man who brought you "the people's right to know," coins yet another hightoned line when asked to supply (to the people) information on his controversial news documentary "The Selling of the Pentagon":

I respectfully decline.

TOM TIEDE

A rare, new disease afflicting only noble men is discovered by crack columnist, Tom Tiede:

Thomas Thompson, twenty-one years old, has just returned from the war in Vietnam as an uncounted casualty who has a wound that can't be seen. He has been kicked out of the army.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

The efficiency experts at *The New Republic* **point out a little-known fact;**

Passing laws, spending money, talking up the environment amount to nothing if — after all is done and said — the air and water remain filthy.

CLAUDE BOURDET

An optimistic note from the streets of Yugoslavia by *The Nation's* **Paris correspondent:**

The spectacle of the street, especially in the afternoon at the end of the working day (from 7 A.M. to 3 P.M. without a break) is astonishing. Belgrade and Zagreb have as many traffic jams as does New York.

KIDDIE KULTUR

The valedictorian of Dartmouth's Class of '71 proves irrefragably that this is truly the most idealistic generation of all time — if not the most unlabored:

Take pity on me, those of you who can justify the air you breathe. Send me letters and tell me why life is worth living. Rich parents, write and tell me how money makes your life worthwhile. Dartmouth alumni, tell me how you think the Dartmouth experience has given value to your existence. And, fellow graduates, fellow members of the Class of 1971, take pity on a student who did not think, but only studied.

Tell me how you justified your existence to yourself, or perhaps why you have not felt the need to do so. And if some one of you out there is also mad like me, write me a letter and tell me how you came to appreciate the absurdity of your life....

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CONTINUING CRISIS

(continued from page 25)

the American presidential candidate.

•Egyptian surface-to-air missiles downed an Israeli jet over Israeli-held Sinai. Senator Jackson warned that Egypt was preparing an attack on Israeli positions. And, in one small step for the USSR, a flight of Soviet turtles returned from space, on 21 September, "thinner, but more active," according to Dr. Oleg Gazenko.

•At the UN the United States began its drive to seat Communist China and retain Nationalist China. The British discovered that they had 105 too many Russian diplomats on their famous island and asked them to pull down their antennae and leave. The British also discovered that the average age of a female nudist is thirty-five. In Uidapur, India, a crowd waiting to sign up for the purchase of motor scooters stampeded, crushing ten Indians. In Cranglio, Italy some two hundred chickens suffocated when they crowded into a corner of their domicile while seeking respite from the noise of a nearby rock festival.

•The famed Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies cited a fifteen per cent decline in America's infant population during the 1960's and naturalists doubted claims that Condors are nesting in Baja, California. A shaggy six and one-half pound male Yorkie named Cerbie, eleven and one-half years old, toothless and arthritic, was lost in Central Park Mall according to the New York Times which also reported that on 21 September Senator Fred Harris elegantly announced his candidacy for the Presidency poignantly longing for "no more bullshit." His chances are deemed limited, but his influence amongst minorities is strong for his wife is half Commanche. As the renowned black housewife, Marie Bowers, of Atlanta stated in the Times article: "He's got to win it. Otherwise, its over for the blacks and minorities." The whole future of America seems tossed about on dark seas. □

LETTER FROM A WHIG

(continued from page 4)

of the established figures of the Democratic Party.

If there is any doubt about the bleak future confronting Lindsay, consider the ease with which the leading Democrats managed to contain their enthusiasm for his conversion. The reaction was: "Lord protect us! Here comes another drain on our campaign funds!!"

Judging by 1968, Democratic Presidential candidates tend to run their campaigns on the same assumption that Democratic Presidents run the country. That assumption is that the supply of money is infinitely elastic. That assumption is false, as practical Democrats (Party Chairman Larry O'Brian, for one) understand.

In 1968 campaigning Democrats distributed telephone and airline credit cards like gum drops; and they "settled" their debts at twenty cents on the dollar. But even using these traditional methods of liberal finance, people run out of money.

This year, with a traveling ten-ring primary circus to finance, the real Democrats do not want an interloper reaching for his share of the liberal capital. Thus a run for the nomination will make his new Party colleagues mad at him.

If Lindsay is prudent he will stay out of the Presidential contest, thereby saving his new Party a lot of money and avoiding the charge that he sabotaged the existing leftwing candidacies (McGovern especially).

The prudent course would be to work for a Democratic victory that might move him from Gracie Mansion to a Cabinet post. Once rescued he could devote his energies to praying that the people of New York will forget — or at least forgive — his tenure as Mayor. Then, and only then, can he realistically hope to get back into elective politics.

Meanwhile he cannot do the Democrats much good. But he might do the Republicans a lot of good.

There is probably no way that a reasonably conservative Presidential candidate such as Nixon can carry New York state. But the Lindsay switch suggests one possible way. If Nixon carries New York it will not be by putting Nelson Rockefeller in Spiro's spot. Rather, it will be because the Democrats nominated Lindsay for Vice President.

Upstate will vote for Nixon, the City will vote against Lindsay, and a good time will be had by all. □

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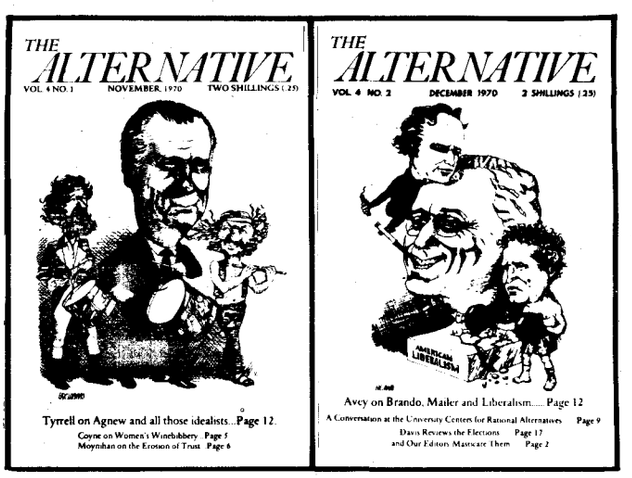
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